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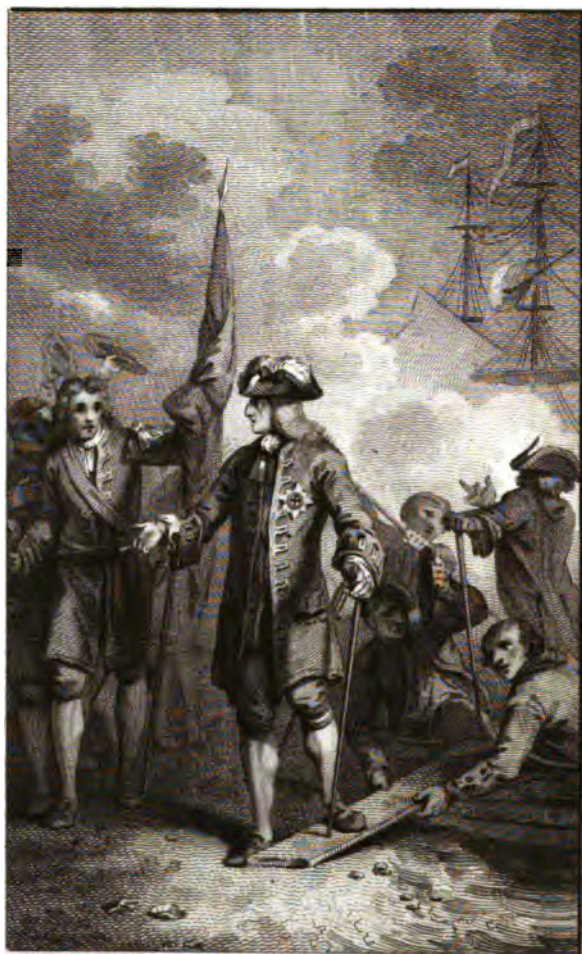
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Vol. II.



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King WILL.^{III.} landing at Torbay. 5 Nov. 1688.

Published 8 May 1779 by J. Bow, Printer near the River.

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Baffling, as thy hoar-cliffs the loud sea-wave.* **T H O M S O N .**

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M D C C L X X I X .



P R E F A C E.

HAVING, in the preceding Volume, passed through the early periods of our History, and traced the slow progress of our Trade, Commerce, and Naval strength, whilst it was obstructed by fierce and barbarous manners, mistaken politics, and despotic rulers, our subject will now gradually open upon us, and become more interesting and important.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth may be considered as displaying the first exertions of national strength at sea; in it the genius of the people led them to undertake amazing enterprizes, which, by their success, astonished the world. Like a young eagle, grown impatient of its nest, which tries its adventurous pinions in the air, and surprized at its own strength, soars aloft through an unmeasurable space.

In our first Volume we have seen the monarch of Spain, involve in ruin the kingdom which he aimed to make the centre of universal monarchy, and his aspiring ambition humbled by the bravery and skill of our forefathers. The Dutch, who by the fostering hand of England, were enabled to ~~shake off~~ the yoke of a tyrant, will soon be seen rapidly to advance in power and consequence, and

ungenerously to contend with the state that raised them. But this contest, in the issue, only served to shew the superiority of the British arm, by the chastisement which such presumption received.

In pursuing this Work, some small deviation has been made from the proposed bulk and contents of the first Volume, although (as the reader must be sensible) the utmost pains have been taken to do justice to the subject, in as small a compass as possible; but the indulgent public may be assured, that it will exceed the quantity at first proposed, only by a few numbers; and we cannot suppose that a single purchaser could be found, who wishes to have the work curtailed and maimed, for the sake of avoiding this trifling addition.

To treat merely of Naval transactions, was, at first, considered as a very imperfect, and consequently unsatisfactory method; it was ever the intention of the Authors of this work, therefore, to give a connective view of the general History of England, by briefly relating such events of national importance, as have taken place in each reign; and, particularly, to trace the causes which have produced each revolution which this country has undergone, and the consequences which have flowed from them. It is with the highest pleasure they find their plan, and its execution, approved; and the generous encouragement with which they have been favoured, will lead them to bestow all possible care in treating of the very interesting transactions which are still to be related.

T H E

Engrav'd for Hervey's Naval History. Vol. I, Book 3, Ch. 1.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

T H E
N A V A L H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K III.

*The Naval History of ENGLAND, during the Reigns
of the STUARTS to the Revolution.*

C H A P. I.

*The Reign of King James I.—His peaceable Accession—Sir Walter Raleigh charged with joining in a Conspiracy against the King—The King's mistaken Notions of Government, and regal Prerogative—Calls in and annuls all Patents for Monopolies—The King desires an Union between the two Kingdoms—Peace with Spain—The Gunpowder Plot—James assumes the Title of King of Great-Britain—Poverty of the Crown—Virginia first settled—Hudson's Voyage—New-England settled—Death and Character of Henry Prince of Wales—Settlement of the Bermuda, or Somer Islands—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine—George Villiers becomes a favourite with the King—Cautionary Towns delivered up to the Dutch—Enlargement of Sir Walter Raleigh,
and*

and his Voyage to Guiana—Is put to Death on his return, by an infamous Perverſion of Juſtice—Conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna—Firſt Settlement of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers—State of the Navy—Manuſactures—Death and Character of James I.

THE acceſſion of James I. as it placed a new family on the throne, may be conſidered as a kind of revolution. During the ſucceeding reigns of the Stuarts, we ſhall ſee the representatives of the people nobly exerting themſelves for the recovery of their civil liberty. The yoke of arbitrary power had long lain heavy on the ſubject, and during the preceding reign, the prerogatives aſſumed by the crown had been, in many inſtances, extremely arbitrary and deſpotic. The nation now began to recover from its lethargy. James the Firſt, whoſe circumscribed abilities, and overweening fondneſs for unlimited power, were depicted in every act of his reign, was a prince whoſe conduct tended to excite diſguſt, whiſt he had neither ſpirit, nor addreſs, to inforce obedience. His weakneſs led him to draw back the veil which had hitherto diſguiſed ſo many uſurpations, and made an oſtentatious diſplay of what his predeceſſors had been contented to enjoy. It was a favourite doctrine with him, that the authority of kings was not to be controuled, any more than that of God himſelf: like him, they were omnipotent; and thoſe privileges to which the people ſo clamourouſly laid claim, as their inheritance and birthright, were no more than the effect of the grace and toleration of his royal anceſtors. Such principles, which, till then, had been only ſilently adopted in the cabinet, and in the courts of juſtice, had maintained their ground, in conſequence of this very obſcurity. Being now announced from the throne, and reſounded from the pulpit, they ſpread an univerſal alarm. Commerce,

merce, too, with its attendant arts, and, above all, that of printing, diffused more salutary notions throughout all orders of the people; a new light began to rise upon the nation; and that spirit of opposition frequently displayed itself in this reign, to which the English monarchs had not, for a long time past, been accustomed*.

Never was the crown of England transmitted with greater tranquillity, than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. King James was the great grandson of queen Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. and, on failure of descendants, from the male line, his right of the crown, by descent, became unquestionable. The nation had long considered him as the successor of Elizabeth; and as that princess had bequeathed to him her crown with her dying breath, he was proclaimed king within six hours after her decease. The people were filled with the utmost impatience to behold their new sovereign; and their sovereign was no less impatient to take possession of his new dignity. The news of his accession was brought him at Edinburgh, and he immediately prepared for his journey to London; and having left a commission with the Scottish council, for the administration of officers in that kingdom, he sat out on the 5th of April, 1603.

The English presently grew jealous of the honours conferred by the king on his Scottish subjects. The animosity, which had almost constantly prevailed between the two nations, was not to be cured by the two kingdoms being governed by the same king. James, however, left most of the principal offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and intrusted both foreign and domestic affairs to his English subjects. His prime-minister, and chief councillor, was secretary Cecil, second son of the great lord Burleigh, whom he successively created lord Effindon, viscount

* Deſoſme on the English Constitution, p. 49.

Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury; his partiality leading him to give him the precedence of his elder brother, whom he likewise created earl of Exeter, by first signing the patent for his earldom. Raleigh had been the friend and associate of Sir Robert Cecil, so long as their mutual interests led them to labour the destruction of Essex; but as they were now alike candidates for the favour of the new king, Cecil drew such a character of his friend to that prince, as effectually ruined his interest there. The neglect with which he was treated at court, soon rendered him a malecontent; he, therefore, was charged with having joined with the lords Gray and Cobham, together with others, in projecting a scheme for fixing on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation to the king, by the family of Lenox; and descended equally from Henry VII. The grounds of their accusation were some bold words spoken in the height of resentment, and a letter pretended to be written by Raleigh. The evidence to support this charge was extremely frivolous and inconclusive; yet the jury on such slight grounds found this great man guilty, contrary to all law and equity. Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, enforced the charge with the utmost virulence; and, in the course of his pleading, descended to mean invective. Raleigh, on the contrary, maintained throughout a perfect self-possession, and defended himself with coolness, great force of argument, and with a persuasive eloquence. To all but George Brooke, the Lord Cobham's brother, the sentence of death was mitigated to imprisonment; but the warrant of reprieve was not produced till the lords Cobham and Gray had laid their heads upon the block.

A noble spirit of liberty now began to discover itself in the commons, a member had been elected for the county of Bucks, which transaction was, as usual, reported to Egerton, the chancellor, who pro-

pronounced him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued a writ for a new election. The commons considered this proceeding as subversive of their most valuable rights; the question thereupon became agitated, and the freedom of elections, exempt from the controul of the crown or its officers, became settled. They then proceeded with spirit and judgment to free the trade of the nation from those shackles which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this respect, the ill-judged tyranny, of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it. The king to concur in this work of reformation, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry: but the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious ingroßers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was forever sacrificed to an inconsiderable temporary advantage of the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily erected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England was centred in London; and it appears that the customs of that port amounted to 110,000*l.* a year; while those of the rest of the kingdom yielded only 17,000*l.*; besides which, it appears that the whole trade of London was confined to about 200 citizens*, who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever prices they pleased both on the exports and imports of the nation.

The attention of the parliament was next taken up, by a proposal for an union between the two kingdoms, on which the king was so zealously bent,

* Journals of the House of Commons, 21st of May, 1604.

that he had assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's cross with St. George's; issued a proclamation to make the coin of Scotland current in England; and to give a general idea of the peace that would flow from it: the iron-gates of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares. This scheme the parliament took into consideration, rather out of compliment to the king, than with any design to bring it into execution; and at length there were appointed forty-four English commissioners, who were to meet with thirty-one of Scotland, to deliberate concerning the terms; but they were not impowered to take any decisive steps towards an establishment.

On the 18th of August 1604, peace with Spain was finally concluded*. In the conferences previous to this treaty, the nations were found to have so few claims on each other, that except on account of the support given by England to the united states of Holland, the war might appear to have been continued, more on account of personal animosity between Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects. The constable of Castile came into England to ratify the peace, and on the part of England, the earl of Hertford was sent into the low-countries for the same purpose; and the earl of Nottingham, high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and splendid; and the Spaniards it is said were a good deal surprized, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the priests, had represented as so many monsters and infernal demons†. During the earl's stay at the Spanish court, Philip III. treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and Nottingham main-

* Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 585.
Vol. VI. p. 21.

† Hume's Hist. of Eng.

tained his dignity in such a manner, as did honour to the English nation, the Spaniards being struck with admiration of the venerable hero, whose courage and conduct had defeated their invincible armada. At his audience of leave the king gave him a diamond ring of three thousand pounds value, besides other presents amounting to twenty thousand pounds.

Early in this king's reign, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the use of tobacco. It sets forth, that "tobacco being a drug of late years found out, and brought from foreign parts in small quantities, was taken by the better sort only for physic and to preserve health, but through evil custom and the toleration thereof, is excessively taken by a number of riotous and disorderly persons: by which immoderate taking of tobacco, the health of a great number of the king's subjects is impaired, and their bodies weakened and made unfit for labour." To restrain the consumption of which, a heavy duty was laid on the importation thereof, being six shillings and eight-pence on every pound weight, besides the duty of two-pence before laid on it*. This import was laid without the concurrence of parliament, but by virtue of the royal prerogative.

We are now to relate an event, one of the most memorable that history has conveyed to posterity, and containing at once a singular proof, both of the strength and weakness of the human mind; its wildest departure from morals, and most steady attachment to religious prejudices†. This was a plot to re-establish popery, and from its horrid tendency seemed to be even of infernal origin. A scheme more terrible never entered into the human

* Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 601. † Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI. p. 30.

mind; it even surpassed in malignity the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France*.

The catholics in England had expected great favour from James, which soon after his coming to the crown they found him unwilling to grant. He appeared on the contrary disposed to put into force the laws enacted against them. Thus disappointed, they determined to take different measures for the establishment of their religion and their party; they were determined at once to destroy the king and both houses of parliament. For this deed of desperation, a number of persons confederated together, among which were Catesby, a gentleman of an ancient family, and good parts; Thomas Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland; John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Sir Everard Digby and Guy or Guido Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service. Horrible as this design was, yet every member seemed faithful and secret in the league; and about two months before the sitting of parliament, the conspirators hired the cellar under the parliament house, and brought a quantity of coals, with which it was then filled, as if for their own use: they then privately conveyed thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, which they had purchased in Holland, and which were covered under the coals and faggots. The day for the sitting of the parliament approached; never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable: the conspirators expected the day with impatience, and gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had

* See Vol. I. page 367.

ended

induced any one conspirator, either to abandon the enterprize, or make a discovery of it. The furious zeal which stimulated them, had extinguished in their breasts every other motive; and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding chiefly from these very bigotted prejudices and partialities, which saved the nation *. At first some of them were startled at the reflection, that many catholics would be present as spectators, or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers: but these scruples were removed by Desmond, a jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, who told them, that it was for the interest of religion, that here the innocent should suffer with the guilty. Confident of success they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. The duke, on account of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Piercy should seize him, or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire. Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood and Grant engaged to assemble their friends, on pretence of a hunting match, seize the princess, and immediately proclaim her queen. So transported were they with rage against their adversaries, and so charmed with the prospect of revenge, that they overlooked their own safety; and trusting to the general confusion, which must result from so unexpected a blow, they foresaw not, that the fury of the people, when unrestrained by any authority, must have turned against them, and would probably have satiated itself, by an universal massacre of the catholics †.

* Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI. p. 34.

† Idem, p. 32.

About ten days before the parliament assembled, lord Monteagle, a catholic, son to lord Morley, an intimate friend and companion of Piercy, received a letter, delivered to his servant by an unknown hand, which was to this effect. *Stay away from this parliament, for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. Think not slightly of this warning, though the danger does not appear; yet they shall receive a terrible blow, without knowing from whence it comes. This council is not to be continued, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter. I hope God will give you the grace to make a good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you.* The contents of this mysterious letter surprized and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed. He communicated it instantly to lord Salisbury, the secretary of state, who laid it before the king and council. Whether the king, who was the most timid monarch that ever filled the English throne, had his sagacity quickened by his fears, and was thereby first to start the suspicion, that some sudden danger was preparing, by means of gunpowder; or that the plot was brought to light by other means, yet James assumed to himself the merit of the discovery, as owing to his penetration on reading the letter. Certain it is, that neither the lords Monteagle nor Salisbury were much alarmed by it, being more inclined to consider it as written with a design to frighten and impose upon the receiver, than as a warning-piece against impending danger; but the suspicion being once started, the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain, sent proper persons, the very night before the sitting of parliament, to examine the vaults under the house. There the whole train of gunpowder was discovered, and a man in a cloak and boots, with a dark lanthorn in his

his hand, and matches, proper for firing the train, in his pocket, was seized before the door of the vault: this was Guy Fawkes, who passed for Piercy's servant. The atrociousness of his guilt inspired him with resolution; and, with an undaunted air, he told them, that he only regretted he had not had an opportunity of blowing them and himself up together. When examined before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, and obstinately refused to name his accomplices. The sight of the rack, however, brought him to a full confession of all the conspirators. No men fear death less than the English, but none dread torments more*.

The conspirators, who had prepared all things to second the mine which was just ready to be sprung at Westminster, finding their plot discovered, fled different ways, to assemble their catholic friends, whom they expected to rise in their defence. But the country being every where alarmed against them, they were at last forced, to the number of about one hundred, to stop at a house in Warwickshire, where they were resolved to sell their lives dearly. A spark of fire happening to fall among some gunpowder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and maimed several. The survivors thereupon resolved to open the gate, and fall upon the multitude that had beset the house. Piercy and Catesby were killed by the same shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and some others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet the jesuit, by the hands of the executioner. Others, against whom no positive proof could be brought, but only strong presumptions of their being privy to the design, were fined and imprisoned; among whom was the

* Goldsmith.

earl of Northumberland. The bigotted catholics were so devoted to father Gagnet, notwithstanding the enormity of his guilt, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and, in Spain, he was revered as a martyr*.—Let us now turn from this gloomy picture of human depravity, and view the more pleasing scenes which present themselves, when industry and liberty united to settle colonies in the northern American continent.

In the year 1606 a colony was settled in the southern parts of Virginia, the merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, having jointly obtained from the king a charter for that purpose. Virginia, at that time, was the general name for the whole eastern coast of North-America, so far as it had been explored to the southward of Newfoundland. Sir Walter Raleigh, in one of his first voyages to America, had left some families in the southern parts, who had dragged on a miserable existence for some years, unable, by their industry, to subsist themselves in a country which had not yet been brought to administer to the wants of civilized societies. Sir Francis Drake sailing along the coast in 1586, took on board his ships the miserable remains of these settlers. So unsuccessful were the English in their first attempt to plant a colony, in a country where, in after times, they have surpassed all other European nations.

No great success attended this second attempt at colonization, although it had now become a national object. Peace had put an end to the naval expeditions against Spain, and left ambitious spirits no hopes of making, any longer, such rapid advances towards honour and fortune; the nation, therefore, began to seek a surer, though slower

* Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 300.

expedient,

expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. The first English town that was built on the American continent, was called James-Town; the same name was also given to the river, on the banks of which it was situated. Neither order nor subordination were introduced into this colony, and the welfare of the establishment was obstructed by feuds and animosities; the important objects of planting, sowing, building, and fortifying, as well as opening a trade with the Indians, was impeded by these dissensions. They had not been long settled before a rivulet was discovered, springing from a bank, which washed down with it a yellow sort of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age, when gold and silver mines were the only objects of men's researches, this worthless glittering substance was immediately taken for gold. The new colonists, on this discovery, neglected both the necessary defence of their lives from the Indians, and their support by cultivating the earth*. The illusion was carried so far, that two ships which arrived there with necessaries, were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands, so that a dreadful famine at length arose from these golden expectations†.

In the year 1607, captain Henry Hudson sailed as far north as eighty degrees and a half, in search of a north-west passage; but returned without having effected his purpose.—The effeminating luxuries of the east, seem to be denied to the hardy inhabitants of Europe, on any other terms than those of making a long and laborious circuit to acquire

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 415. Smith's History of Virginia.
† Abbé Raynal, Hist. Pol. liv. XVIII.

them. A shorter passage thither has ever been the wish of mankind, but like many other human wishes, would be a baneful acquisition. This voyage, however, produced a more beneficial discovery, by lighting on the bay to which he gave his name. The next year he renewed the attempt by a north eastern route, to as little purpose. It was reserved for the present age, fully to determine the non-existence of such passages, or at least the utter impossibility of maintaining a correspondence with the eastern world, by either of those routes. Not discouraged however by these repeated disappointments, he made a third voyage towards Nova Zembla, in which, after having had a sight of the North Cape of Finmark, he sailed to Newfoundland, Cape Cod, and Virginia. On the American coast he gave his own name to a river, by which it is still described. He is said to have made a formal surrender of lands lying on that river, which are now a part of New England, to some Hollanders, who made great progress in planting and improving it. They named the country New Netherlands, and built there the city of New Amsterdam, since called New York, so strongly does the human mind attach itself to its native soil, even when removed from it to a different section of the globe! They likewise built the fort of Orange, about one hundred and fifty miles up Hudson's River, since named the city of Albany. Whatever transfer was made by Hudson of these lands, it was not a valid one, as it was conveying away a part of the king's dominions to a foreign nation, without the participation of the crown and kingdom.

What was then called North Virginia, but now bears the name of New England, now began to receive a settlement. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed; and for some time after there were only a few adventurers;
who

who came over occasionally during the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year.

The year 1610 was distinguished by an event which gave great alarm and concern in England, the murder of the French king Henry IV. by the poinard of the enthusiastic Ravallac. As this was another strong proof of the desperate phrensy which some adherents to popery imbibed with their religion, it if possible increased the antipathy against the papists, which had prevailed in England ever since the discovery of the popish plot; the laws therefore, which had been formerly enacted, in order to keep these religionists in awe, began on this occasion to be exercised with redoubled rigour and severity.

This year king James built the finest ship of war ever seen in England, it carried sixty-four cannon, and was of fourteen hundred tons burden, and named the Prince. Thus we may see the gradual steps by which the royal navy of England arrived at that grandeur and magnitude which it has at this time reached.

The manufacture of alum was first invented, and successfully carried on in England at this time. King James observing the advantages accruing from this new article of trade, assuming the monopoly of it to himself, and prohibiting the importation of all foreign alum.

The king having issued a proclamation, prohibiting all foreign nations from fishing on the coasts of Great Britain, the Dutch found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with him, and agreed to pay a sum of money annually for leave to fish on the coasts.

The Muscovy Company now fitted out the first ships the English ever sent to Greenland for killing

of Whales. They were two, the *Mary Margaret*, of one hundred and sixty tons, commanded by captain Thomas Edge; and the *Elizabeth*, of sixty tons, Jonas Poole, master. The company had engaged in their service six men of Biscay, who were skilled in the whale fishery, and of these the English first learnt the art. About the middle of June they killed a small whale, which yielded twelve tons of oil, being the first oil ever made in Greenland. The voyage, however, proved unfortunate, the largest ship being cast away, and the other was overset*.

Whilst James was every day strengthening that national disgust which his conduct had excited, his son Henry, prince of Wales, who had now reached his eighteenth year, was become the idol of the people, when his sudden death, which happened in 1612, diffused an universal grief throughout the nation. Though youth and royal birth are ever found powerfully to prepossess men in favour of princes, yet all historians agree in attributing to prince Henry more substantial merit. His dignified deportment, commanded more respect than the age, learning, and experience of his father could procure. Neither his exalted rank, nor the fervour of youth had seduced him into any irregular pleasures; his mind was engrossed by pursuits tending to form an able and a great prince. Devoted to ambition, martial exercises were his favourite employments. The French king directed his ambassador in England, to cultivate the friendship of this prince, "who must soon," said he, "have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in so little estimation†." That minister, when taking leave of him, found him employed in

* Purchas's Pilgrimages, Vol. III. p. 465.
 † Dep. de la Be-
 derie, Tom. I. p. 402.

the

the exercise of the pike, he asked his commands for France, "Tell your king," said the prince, "in what occupation you left me engaged." Prince Henry had conceived great affection and esteem for Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom he used to say, "Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage." He seems indeed to have entertained an unbecoming contempt for his father, on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity, and thereby gratified the restless and martial spirit of the English nation. Had he lived to mount a throne, he might probably have promoted the glory at the expence of the felicity of his people. The unhappy prepossession which men commonly have in favour of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other martial virtues, hurries generous natures, who always love fame, into such pursuits as destroy their own peace, and that of the rest of mankind.*

The marriage of the princess Elizabeth with Frederic elector Palatine, took place sometime after the death of the prince, from the issue of which marriage the Brunswick line afterwards succeeded to the crown in the person of king George the First.

The Muscovy Company now obtained a patent from the king, under the great seal, forbidding foreigners, and all others, to frequent the coast of Greenland. They themselves sent out seven ships upon this trade. These met with fifteen sail of large ships; two of them Dutch, and the rest French, Spanish, and Flanderkins; besides four English interlopers; all of whom they drove from the coast, but in doing this so much time was employed, that the fishing season was considerably advanced before they sat to work; they caught, however, sixteen whales. Baffin, in his account of

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 43.

this

this voyage, says, besides these, they obliged the foreigners to catch several whales for them *.

The English, about this time, discovered and settled the Island of Barbadoes. Mr. Anderson calls it the mother of all our West-India sugar-islands, and the chief of the Caribbees †. This island has proved of great consequence to the kingdom by its excellent productions. It is the most easterly of the Leeward Islands, and appeared to have never been inhabited, not even by savages, when the English first landed upon it. They found it overspread with such large and hard timber-trees; that it required uncommon resolution and perseverance to fell them, and grub them up; but when this task was, in some measure, accomplished, the inhabitants began to taste the sweets of their labours, by cultivating a grateful soil.

The English East-India Company, until this time, carried on their commerce by means of several separate stocks, making separate running voyages; but, at length, they united all into one general joint capital stock. But notwithstanding that by such means their hands were greatly strengthened, yet they neglected to erect any forts, or to attempt any permanent settlement in any of the countries to which they traded.

Their commerce, however, becoming very considerable, king James appointed Sir Thomas Rowe, his and the company's ambassador, to the emperor of Hindostan, commonly called the Great Mogul; (and in the record preserved by Mr. Rymer ‡, the Great Magoar,) for treating with him about a commercial intercourse between England, and East-India. The expence of this embassy was defrayed by the company, and was the only one

* Purchas's Pilgrimages, Vol. III. p. 466.
Commerce, Vol. I. p. 491.

† Deduction of
‡ Fadera, Vol. XVI. p. 775.

ever made to that remote country.—Little was it thought, at this time, that the territorial revenues of the richest provinces of this extended empire, would be vested in an United Company of English Merchants, for their rapacious servants to enrich themselves by its spoils.

In the year 1612 the Bermuda, or Summer Islands, were first settled by a colony from England. These are a cluster of small and very rocky islands, situated five hundred miles directly east from Carolina; they had been discovered near a century before, by one Bermuda, a Spaniard. In 1609, Sir George Somers, and Sir Thomas Gates, were shipwrecked on these islands, in their voyage to America. From the first of whom they were called Somers Islands, which was changed to Summer Islands; but the first name of Bermuda is more frequently used. So favourable a report was made in England of the beauty and fertility of these islands, that the Virginia Company, who, as first discoverers, claimed the property, sold them to about one hundred and twenty persons, to whom the king granted a charter, in consequence of which, the largest, which was named St. George's Isle, became inhabited; and, upon a second emigration thither, a form of government was established, which consisted of an assembly, with a governor and council. These islands produce very few commodities for exportation.

The English Russia Company obtained of the king a charter, excluding all others (natives as well as foreigners) from sailing to Spitsbergen. On which they equipped seven armed ships, with which they drove from those seas not only fifteen sail of Dutch, French, and Biscayners, but even four English separate fishers. They also set up a cross, with the king's arms on it, at Spitsbergen, calling it
king

king James's Newland, and obliged some French ships to pay them a tribute of eight whales for fishing there. This was the company's second equipment, expressly for whale-fishing*. The next year thirteen English ships were employed in this branch of trade, and the Dutch had eighteen, four of which were ships of war, under the protection of which they carried on their fishery, in defiance of the English company's exclusive claim.

An enquiry was set on foot by the privy council, into the exports and imports of all England; which, according to a writer of that time, was as follows :

	£.	s.	d.
Exported to all the world, between Christmas 1612, and Christmas 1613, to the value of	2,090,640	11	8
The customs on those goods	86,794	16	2
The imposts paid outward on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter	10,000	0	0
The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges	300,000	0	0
Total exports	2,487,435	7	10

Imported, during that time, in silk, Venice gold and silver stuffs, Spanish wines, linen, and other merchandize, with the customs thereon	2,141,151	10	0
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Exports exceed the imports † 346,283 17 10

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 489.
Circle of Commerce, published 1623.

† Miffelden's

The same author has given us the total amount of the customs of England, for the year 1613.

At the port of London.

			£.	s.	d.
Outwards	—	—	61,322	16	7
Inwards	—	—	48,250	1	9
Total customs of the port of London			109,572 18 4		

At all the out-ports.

Outwards	—	25,471	19	7	} 38,502 9 4
Inwards	—	13,030	9	9	
Total amount of the customs of England					148,075 7 8

By this it appears, that London then contributed thrice as much to the customs as all England besides.

James, despised by his people, thwarted by his parliament, possessing a weak and frivolous mind, incapable of furnishing any rational means of happiness, sought a refuge from chagrin, in the company and solace of a favourite. Robert Carr, a youth about twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, found means to obtain the ascendancy in the king's esteem. James soon knighted this minion, created him viscount Rochester, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy-council, and entrusted him with the supreme direction of all his business and political concerns, till, at length, he created him earl of Somerset. An amour between this favourite and the countess of Essex, a woman as eminent for the charms of her

person, as for the wantonness of her disposition, at length brought on his disgrace. Sir Thomas Overbury, who had been his best friend, and most faithful adviser, very strenuously opposed a marriage with this lady, who was the daughter of the earl of Suffolk, and had been espoused to the young lord Essex, now restored to his blood and dignity. Advice so repugnant to the inclinations of Somerset, drew down on the knight the resentment of the two lovers. The king, by false representations, was prevailed on to confine Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower; and whilst he there suffered all the rigours of imprisonment, the earl and the countess caused him to be poisoned. Some few years elapsed before this transaction reached the king's ears; but on being informed of it, he delivered his favourite up to a public trial, by which he was found guilty, but received the royal pardon, in violation of a solemn oath which James had bound himself by, that the severity of the law should be inflicted, in case Somerset was found guilty. But though his life was spared, he ever after continued in disgrace.

His next favourite obtained a yet greater ascendancy over this weak king; this was George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, whose personal beauty first drew the king's attention and regard. It may be reckoned among the most capricious circumstances of this reign, that a king who was bred a scholar, should choose, for his favourites, the most illiterate of his courtiers; that he who trembled at a drawn sword, should lavish favours on one passionately fond of feats in arms, and adventurous enterprizes. Buckingham having obtained a dukedom, was soon after invested with the order of the Garter; he became, at the same time, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the Cinque-Ports, master of the King's Bench office,

office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor-Castle, and lord high admiral of England *.

It has been already related in the former volume †, that queen Elizabeth obtained from the Dutch certain terms for the re-payment of the sums of money which she had advanced to these infant states; as a farther security for her reimbursement, the towns of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins, were put into her hands. When the peace with Spain was ratified, the states of Holland stipulated with the king, that the debt then due by them to the crown of England, amounting to eight hundred thousand pounds, should be discharged by yearly payments of forty thousand pounds; and this sum was regularly paid during five years. The states now proffered to pay down two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, if the king would agree to discharge them from all farther payments, and deliver up the cautionary towns which he then held. The profuse manner in which James bestowed his favours on those who had the good fortune to please him, had reduced his exchequer to a very low ebb; he, therefore, did not hesitate long, about accepting the offer made him by the thrifty Hollanders; and he, accordingly, caused these fortresses to be evacuated, by which step the states became possessed of such a degree of independence and security, as they had never before experienced. His wife and frugal predecessor would never have parted with so effectual a check upon the conduct of Holland; but James was neither wise nor frugal, and therefore he lost sight of national benefit, from his eagerness to gain a private accommodation ‡.

Sir Walter Raleigh had now been thirteen years confined in the Tower, during which time the senti-

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 10.
Dom. 1616.

† Page 463.

‡ An.

ments of the nation were much changed concerning him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprizing spirit, which languished in the rigours of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, after having employed his life in naval and military enterprizes, had surpassed, in literary merit, such of his age, as had been devoted entirely to such pursuits; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake, and execute, so great a work as his *History of the World* *. King James's queen also was very well disposed towards Raleigh; so that, at length, James was prevailed upon to set him at liberty, and granted him a commission, under the privy seal, empowering him to undertake a voyage to the south parts of America, inhabited by heathen and savage people; the king reserving to himself a fifth part of the gold, silver, and precious stones, which should be procured by the voyage.

Raleigh sailed with twelve ships for the coast of Guiana, and again proceeded up the great river Oronoque, but without procuring the valuable productions, the idea of which had engaged numbers to embark with him in the enterprize. On his return to England, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, represented, in very strong terms, the depredations which he had committed on the settlements in those parts, at a time when the two kingdoms were on friendly terms with each other. James dreaded, beyond measure, entering into a foreign war, and chose to sacrifice Raleigh to appease the Spaniards. It cannot be

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 93.

denied,

denied, that he had committed unwarrantable violences, and for such acts of injustice he ought to have been tried, and undergone condign punishment; but the king, his master, chose to punish him in a more arbitrary and cruel manner; he put in force the sentence which had been pronounced against him fifteen years before, and, in consequence of which, he had endured thirteen years imprisonment.

Mr. Hume supposes Raleigh to have spread the report of the existence of a gold mine in Guiana, in hopes thereby of recovering his liberty, not from a real belief of it himself; and by landing at Guiana 23 years before, he had acquired to the crown of England, according to the notions which then did, and at present do prevail, a claim to the country*.

It

* This great man was a native of Devonshire, and sprung from a good family; his mother was relict of Otho Gilbert, Esq; by whom she had Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert. He was born in 1552, went early to Oxford, and was entered in Oriel College; and by some is supposed to have been afterwards a student in the Middle Temple. When only seventeen years of age, he went over to France as a volunteer, in the service of the Hugonots, where he continued five years, and then passed into the Netherlands, where he served against the Spaniards†. During this his novitiate in arms, he gained those polished manners, which only good sense, and an acquaintance with the world, can confer.

In 1578 he returned to England, where he found his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, endeavouring to form an association for the purpose of making discoveries in North-America, with which view he obtained a patent from the queen. Raleigh not only adventured his property in this scheme, but likewise accompanied Sir Humphrey in person on this voyage, which proved unsuccessful. They returned in the spring of 1579, having lost their best ship, and made

† Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. Naunton's frag. Reg.

It had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Orinoco,

made no important discoveries, to compensate for the dangers, expence, and inconveniencies which they had incurred. Sir Walter's active spirit did not suffer him to remain long unemployed; accordingly we find him, the next year, passing over into Ireland, to assist in counteracting the designs of the Spaniards on that kingdom. In this enterprize he was appointed to a captain's commission. Whilst employed in this service he procured the government of Munster, and a grant of valuable lands in that part of the kingdom which was subdued. His government he did not hold long, but returned to England, and grew into favour with the queen, and her court. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was then meditating a second attempt at discovery, in effecting which Sir Walter Raleigh contributed a new ship, called the *Bark Raleigh*; but he did not go himself on this voyage; the unhappy issue of which has been related in our first volume*. Not discouraged by this miscarriage, Raleigh, the very next year, obtained letters-patent from queen Elizabeth, empowering him to make discoveries in the western world. The first voyage undertaken hereupon, brought the possession of the American coast, through a long track of country to England, as has been already shewn †.

In the year 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a second fleet to proceed to Virginia, which was the name given to the newly-discovered country: this armament brought home great gains, a valuable Spanish ship having fallen into its hands.

When the king of Spain threatened the reduction of England, Sir Walter was chosen of the council, to concert measures to oppose the design; and he not only contributed his property, but exposed his person, in opposing the Spanish fleet; in the course of which service he discovered great skill and bravery, and greatly recommended himself to his royal mistress. He had now made over his property, in the soil of Virginia, to a society of merchants in London.

Soon

* Page 400.

† Vol. I. p. 401.

noque, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and, remaining himself at the mouth of the river with

Soon after he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Devon; and several of the speeches which he delivered in the house of commons, are preserved in Sir Simonds d'Ewes Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments; in which the soundness of his judgment, and the eloquence of his harangues, are very conspicuous. In him men of learning and ingenuity found a patron and protector. But whilst he continued to enjoy the smiles of his sovereign, an intrigue with one of the maids of honour, which produced consequences not to be concealed, forfeited him the royal favour. Whilst he continued under disgrace, he led a life of retirement for some time.

In the year 1595 he embarked on his expedition to Guiana, in which he was supported by the high admiral, the earl of Nottingham, and Sir Robert Cecil, afterward earl of Salisbury, secretary of state to king James, and then the sworn foe of this great man *. The next important expedition in which he embarked was against Cadiz; in which he was the principal means of obtaining that naval victory in the harbour, which paved the way for the taking of the town. Immense spoils were made by the fleet and army, whilst they held possession of this opulent city; Sir Walter, however, came in for a small share of the plunder; for, as he himself expresses it, he "got a lame leg, and deformed, and had possession of naught but poverty and pain." †

In 1597 he sent out a ship to Guiana, the settling of which country was his favourite scheme; but in doing it he was so powerfully opposed, that he never could make any progress therein. In the same year a grand fleet was got ready to annoy the Spaniards in Europe, of which the earl of Essex had the chief command, and Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the vice-admirals. The misunderstanding which arose between these two impetuous spirits, whilst on this expedition, has been related ‡. This difference afterwards grew into a confirmed and bitter hatred; and some few

* See Vol. I. page 462.

† Camden.

‡ Vol. I. p. 465.

with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion,

few years afterwards, when the desperate conduct of Essex drew on himself destruction, Raleigh was one of the most active of that nobleman's enemies. He took every method to awaken the queen's resentment, and to procure the death of her favourite. This conduct rendered him very unpopular, as Essex stood very high in the public opinion. Raleigh is said to have beheld the execution of his rival from a window in the Tower; which instance of rancorous enmity gave great offence, it being thought that his sole intention therein, was, to feast his eyes with such a scene; and no apology which he could make for his conduct, would be accepted by the public.

On the death of queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh found himself neglected by her successor. The events which befel him in the latter part of his life have been already related, so far as they were of a public nature. Whilst he remained a prisoner in the Tower, the severities of his confinement were by degrees, much relaxed, and his estates were restored to him. But whilst things seemed in a favourable train for his admission into the favour of his prince, the king's sudden and violent attachment to Robert Carr disappointed all the hopes which Raleigh had entertained. A flaw was discovered in the conveyance which he had made of his estates to his son, and upon an information in the court of Exchequer, judgement was given for the crown: soon after the favourite obtained a regular grant of all the lands which Sir Walter had thereby forfeited. On this occasion Raleigh's wife petitioned the king, when the answer he returned was, "I mun ha the lands, I mun ha the lands for Carr."

He spent a great part of his time during his long imprisonment in writing that noble monument of his parts and learning, "The History of the World;" wherein he has shewn that he consulted that wise rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chemistry, but without being carried away by the visionary chimeras which prevailed in that

invasion, fired on the English at their landing, but were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, *That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other*; and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired.

This that age. Besides these pursuits, he occasionally turned his thoughts on many other subjects, all of which were beneficial to mankind; of these treatises many are printed; some are still preserved in MS. and not a few are lost*. The death of this great man spread a general disgust through the nation; Buckingham who was greatly accessory in perpetrating this murder, prevailed on the ministry to publish a declaration, wherein the true motives and real causes of his death were pretended to be given. But this piece was far from satisfying men's minds, on the contrary, it served to increase the general concern for the fate of this brave man. King James after this transaction granted a new commission to captain Roger North for settling Guiana, which shews the opinion he entertained of his right to that country.

Three years after the tragical death of this extraordinary man, died the earl of Nottingham, of whom we have had frequent occasion to make honourable mention, in the former volume particularly. He was born in the year 1536, and succeeded his father William lord Effingham, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. He continued lord high admiral of England till February 1618, 19, when, finding himself unable any longer to perform the duties of that great employment, which he had enjoyed about 33 years, he voluntarily resigned it. The king being sensible of the important services he had done the nation, remitted him a debt of 18,000 l. which he owed to the crown, settled on him a pension of 1000 l. a year for life, and granted him the place and precedency of John Mowbray, who had been created earl of Nottingham by king Richard II. at the time of his coronation. The earl died at the age of 88, leaving rather a memorial of his extraordinary worth than any great estate to his family,

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 77.

This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value.

Raleigh did not pretend, that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him a lump of ore, which promised immense treasures. Yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprize. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behaviour, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

The other adventurers now concluded, that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprizes; and that he trusted

although he had enjoyed so long the profitable post of lord admiral. He lived in the most splendid and magnificent manner, keeping several houses at the same time; and was always forward to promote any design which promised to be any wise serviceable to his country. Sir Robert Naunton styles him a worthy, honest, and brave man; and for his person as goodly a gentleman as any of his age*; and Mr. Osborne tells us, that his fidelity was impregnable to corruption†.

* Frag. Reg. 31. † Historical Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

to the money he should acquire, for making his peace with England; or if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

The small acquisitions, gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty and late transactions, between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards, having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favour, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended, that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment, when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty, which was found, in remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

But as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships, and a fleet acting under a royal commission, Raleigh's companions thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears, that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and, failing of that, to make his escape into France: but, all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. The council, upon enquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded; that he had abused the king in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the king of Spain.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and though he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination, and procure his escape; he now resolved to act his part with bravery and resolution. *'Tis a sharp remedy*, he said, *but a sure one for all ills*; when he felt the edge of the ax, by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by strong asseverations of facts, which, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful. With the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow.

No

No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a sentence, which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation, who had a high reputation for valour and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion: and the intimate connections, which the king was now entering into with Spain, being universally distasteful; rendered this proof of his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular*.

The voyagers tell us, that in the year 1619 the English made an unsuccessful attempt to settle a trade from Japan, with China and Cochin-China: at the latter country both the English and Dutch factors were massacred, founded on a charge against the latter, for having burnt a town in that country.

In the seventeenth volume of Rymer's *Fædera* †, is preserved a grant from king James to Clement Cotterell, Esq; groom-porter of the king's household, to license the number of places, for the use of cards, dice, bowling-allies, tennis-courts, and other diversions in the city and suburbs of London, and its vicinity. By it appears, that twenty-four bowling-allies were allowed within the cities of London and Westminster, and their suburbs; in Southwark four; in St. Catharine's one; in the towns of Lambeth and South-Lambeth two; in Shoreditch one; and in every other burgh, town, village, or hamlet, within two miles of the cities of London and Westminster, one bowling-alley.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 99.

† Page 236.

Also

Also within the two cities, and two miles round them, fourteen tennis-courts. For playing at cards and dice, forty taverns, within the same limits. "For the honest and reasonable recreation," says this prince, "of good and civil people, who, for their quality and ability, may lawfully use such games as bowling, tennis, dice, cards, tables, nine-holes, or any other game hereafter to be invented."

About this time the English company trading to the East-Indies, obtained leave of the king of Goleonda to settle at Madras-patan, on the coast of Coromandel, where they built a fort, which they named St. George, which remains, to this day, the emporium for the company's trade to all parts east of Cape Comorin. Fort St. George, however, is far from being a happy situation, being situated on a barren soil, and a tempestuous shore, having no kind of harbour, nor even a convenient landing-place for boats; besides which, no fresh water is to be had nearer than a mile. Notwithstanding, these local disadvantages are counterbalanced by its being advantageously situated for the trade in diamonds, muslins, chints, &c. and in disposing of the European merchandize most vendible there; such as stockings, haberdashery, gold and silver lace, looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, lead, wine, cyder, cheese, hats, stuffs, ribbons, &c.

A very impolitic and unjustifiable persecution of the puritans, or protestant dissenters, at this time, brought on the effectual planting and enlarging of the new settlement in New-England. Mr. Robinson, a brownist minister*, had, with his congregation,

* This was a religious sect, which sprung out of the puritans towards the close of the sixteenth century: their leader, Robert Brown, was born of a good family in Rutlandshire, and related to the lord-treasurer Burleigh. He had his education at Cambridge, but first published

gation, retired to Holland, to escape the rigour of the high commission courts, and other spiritual judicatures. But not liking their residence there, they determined to cross the Atlantic. These adventurers were joined by many substantial families from England, who converted their estates into money, to enable them to settle in America. Sir Robert Naunton, one of the king's secretaries of state, being a favourer of the Puritans, was very assisting therein, by procuring the king's countenance to these emigrations; who granted them a patent, under the sanction of which they settled at a place near Cape Cod, which they called New Plymouth. Here they associated themselves into a society, by a formal instrument, in which they declared themselves subjects of the crown of England, and solemnly engaged themselves to an absolute submission to such laws and rules as should be established for the good of the colony, and annually elected a governor.

For some years they suffered severe hardships; as all new settlers who have a wild country to reduce must be unavoidably exposed to: sickness wasted their numbers, but every year brought them new

published his notions, and began to inveigh openly against the discipline and ceremonies of the established church of England, at Norwich, in 1530; from which time he was persecuted by the bishops, insomuch that he boasted he had been committed to no less than thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noonday. At length, with his congregation, he left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburgh, in Zealand, where they obtained leave of the States to worship God in their own way, and form a church according to their own model. They had not been long thus established before dissensions broke out among them, which grew to such a height, that Brown, their pastor, grew weary of his office, and returning to England in 1539, renounced his principles of separation, and obtained a living in Northamptonshire, where he died in 1630. The revolt of Brown was attended with the dissolution of the church at Middleburgh; but the seeds of Brownism, which he had sown in England, were so far from being destroyed, that Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech in 1592, computes as less than twenty thousand followers of it.—*Chambers' Dictionary.*

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adventurers from England, with supplies of such articles as were best suited for traffic with the Indians, in return for which they received corn, furs, fish, and skins, which found a ready market in England. A trade, thus mutually beneficial, being now opened with the Mother Country, in five years time the new settlers were enabled to clear and cultivate as much land as produced a sufficiency of corn for their own consumption.—The contracted views of narrow-minded politicians discovered the seeds of many national evils in the colonization of America. They predicted the rise of an independent state, which should rival the Mother Country, and depopulate it by the transition of its most valuable subjects to the western hemisphere. But in spite of these prognostics, Great Britain, to use the language of the poet, “grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength.” If, at the expiration of a century and a half, the evils, at first foretold, have, in any measure arisen, yet no one can deny that the human specie is benefited by the settling of America, since an active and enterprising race of men is disseminated in those parts of the world, which were before the haunts of wild beasts and reptiles, and only occasionally visited by hordes of wandering Indians. The English merchant may, at this day, wish to see the consequence of America reduced, and its trade restrained; the British legislature, after having strained every inventive faculty in devising modes of taxation, would wish to draw financial resources from the other section of the globe; but the citizen of the world, bends his attention to the welfare of mankind at large, and loves his country, without being indifferent to the interests of humanity.

Spain not being able of itself to crush the Algarines, who, at this time, were formidable in shipping,

shipping, and greatly infested the Spanish coasts, after four different expeditions against that city, count Gondemar, ambassador from Spain to king James, found means to make that monarch the instrument of his master's revenge. Having gained the duke of Buckingham to second his views, they united in representing to him the mighty glory which would be derived from such a conquest, and the benefits which the taking of that nest of pyrates would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Mansel was therefore sent out with six men of war, and twelve stout ships, hired from the merchants. On the 27th of November they came to an anchor in Algiers Road, and saluted the town without receiving a single gun in answer; however, a negotiation ensued, in which it is hard to say, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The Turks at last promised to give the admiral satisfaction to his demands; upon which he sailed to the Spanish coast, attended with six French men of war; the admiral of this squadron struck to the English fleet upon the first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage that attended this whole expedition *. It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus, but after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole †. Accordingly, in the month of May, the fleet left the coast of Majorca, and on the 21st of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design.

* Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 331. See also an account of this expedition, published by authority, in 1621.

† See the relation of this expedition before referred to, which is almost the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an account only on one side, and was certainly written to justify the undertaking. Cambell's Remark, Nav. Hist.

Two ships taken from the Turks, and three brigantines, were prepared for the purpose, and seven armed boats followed to sustain them, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole. On the 24th, the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole, but when they were within less than a musket shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay, they put to sea, and in the month of June returned to England. Two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under lord Willoughby, the other under lord Denbigh; both of which did so little, that very few of our historians take any notice of them. Sir William Monson remarks on this expedition, that if those christian countries which lie opposite to Algiers, could never prevail in their several attempts against it, notwithstanding their superior advantages in embarking and transporting an army suddenly, and without spreading an alarm, what hopes has England to prevail, whose designs must be known before they can be executed? Such warning given would be sufficient for a garrisoned town, of less force, and fewer men, than Algiers, to prevent a surprize. Experience has, however, in our days, rendered us wiser, and we now are sensible of the substantial benefits derived in our commerce, from being at peace with the Barbary States, whilst they make depredations on other nations: and our acquisition of Gibraltar, and the

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naval force kept there, will probably be ever sufficient to keep those of Algiers, Sallee, Tunis, and Tripoli, in constant awe of us.

The Dutch were now advancing apace into a distinguished rank among the powers of Europe. As their views were entirely commercial, they began to covet with great avidity the lucrative commerce which the spice islands in the East Indies held out, their successes in supplanting the Portuguese, serving only to increase their rapacity. They began to grow impatient of sharers in any branch of this trade. The method which these people took to compass their ends, are represented in the most odious light by the English, who unfortunately fell a sacrifice to their insatiable thirst of gain; the Dutch, on the other hand, attempt to palliate the cruel and unjust proceedings of their countrymen, by representing the English as drawing down upon themselves the fate which befel them. In order to steer clear of national prejudices, we shall state the transactions of this period in the words of the abbé Raynal, who cannot be suspected of partiality to either state, and who is generally allowed to have made his researches with great assiduity, and with equal ability.

"The Dutch, who had driven the Portuguese from the spice islands, never intended to suffer a nation to settle there, whose maritime force, character, and government, would make them formidable rivals. They had many advantages on their side, such as powerful colonies, a well exercised navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowledge of the country, and of the principles and details of commerce, which the English wanting, were attacked in all possible ways.

"The first step their rival took was to drive them from the fertile places where they had formed settlements.

elements. In the islands where their power was less established, they endeavoured, by accusations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. These shameful expedients not meeting with all the success the Dutch expected, those avaritious traders resolved to proceed to acts of violence.

"The Indian Ocean became, at this period, the scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They fought out, attacked, and combated each other with the spirit of men who chose to conquer or die. Equal courage appeared on both sides, but there was a disparity in their forces. The English were on the point of being overcome, when some moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not easy to explain, the very strangest of all was adopted.

"In 1619 the two companies signed a treaty, the purport of which was, that the Molucca islands, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the two nations: that the English should have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce; at a fixed price: that each, in proportion to their interest, should contribute to the defence of these islands: that a council composed of skilful men of both parties, should regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: that this agreement, guaranteed by the respective sovereigns, should last twenty years; and that if any difference should arise during this interval, that could not be settled by the two companies, they should be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States General. Among all the political conventions preserved in history, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It had the fate it deserved.

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“ The Dutch were no sooner informed of it in India, than they devised means to render it ineffectual. The situation of affairs favoured their designs. The Spaniards and the Portuguese had taken advantage of the disputes between their enemies, to regain the settlements in the Moluccas. They might fortify themselves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The English commissaries concurred with them in opinion, that it would be best to attack them without delay; but added, that they were not at all prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was registered; and their associates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reserved to themselves. The agents of the Dutch company had only one step further to go, to get all the spices into the hands of their masters, which was, to drive their rivals from the island of Amboyna. The method by which they succeeded in their project was very extraordinary.

“ A Japanese, in the Dutch service at Amboyna, made himself suspected by his imprudent curiosity. He was seized, and confessed that he had entered into an engagement with the soldiers of his nation, to deliver up the fort to the English. His comrades confirmed his account, making the same confession. Upon these unanimous depositions, the authors of the conspiracy, who did not disavow, but even acknowledged it, were loaded with irons; and the ignominious death which all the criminals were condemned to suffer, put an end to the plot. This is the account given by the Dutch.

“ The English have always considered this accusation as the suggestion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained that it was absurd to suppose, that ten factors, and eleven foreign soldiers, could have formed the project of seizing upon a place, which was garrisoned by two hundred men: that

that even if these unhappy men had thought it possible to execute so extravagant a plan, would they not have been discouraged by the impossibility of obtaining succours to defend them against an enemy who would have besieged them on all sides? to make a conspiracy of this kind probable, it requires stronger proof than a confession extorted from the accused by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage or weakness of those whom barbarous custom condemned to it. These considerations, strengthened by several others, almost equally convincing, have made the story of the conspiracy of Amboyna so suspected, that it has generally been considered as a cloak to cruelty and avarice.

"The ministry of James I. and the whole nation, were at that time so engaged in ecclesiastical subtleties, and the discussion of the rights of king and people, that they were not sensible of the insults offered to the English name in the east. This indifference produced a caution which soon degenerated into weakness. These islanders, however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar*."

James, who through his whole reign had shewn an abject dread of entering into any foreign war, at length found himself in an advanced period of his life, precipitated into a dispute with Spain, to gratify the capricious humour of Buckingham, who bore an unlimited ascendancy over his sovereign. This favourite had inspired the young prince Charles with a desire of going disguised into Spain, to court the Infanta. They were received there with all possible respect, but Buckingham filled the whole court with intrigues, adventures, serenades, and jealousies. To complete the folly, he fell in love

* Raynal's Account of European Settlements in the East-Indies. English translation, Vol. I. p. 313.

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With the duchess of Olevarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted her husband. These levities were not to be tolerated at such a court as that of Spain, where jealousy is so prevalent, and decorum so necessary; the match was broken off, and the prince was permitted to return in safety. Buckingham, on his return to England, represented the court of Spain as insincere in its pretended approbation of this match. A parliament was summoned, to enable the king to make head against that power, which he was just before wishing to unite in the closest alliance. The house of commons desired nothing more earnestly than a rupture with Spain, Buckingham therefore hereupon became the momentary favourite of the public.

A match for prince Charles was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, the daughter of Henry IV. of France, and this met with better success than the former: Charles had seen this princess, when he passed through that kingdom in disguise, in his way to Spain; he admired her beauty, and from every quarter was informed of her accomplishments; a dispensation was obtained from the pope, for her marrying a protestant prince, but James died before the consummation of the nuptials, the 25th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and 23d of his reign.

It is acknowledged by all historians, that trade increased much in this reign. The vigorous measures of the parliament heightened this circumstance, by freeing it from several monopolies, an imposition with which it had been much fettered by Elizabeth. A board of trade was first established by this king, to examine the efficacy of expedients which were proposed for the advancement of commerce. Agriculture received great improvement in this time, and the nation began to be more independent

dependent on foreign produce for their subsistence *.

James's yearly revenue was four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The subsidies which were granted him by the commons and the clergy, money paid him by the states and the king of France, with the sums he raised by extraordinary and illegal methods, amounted in the whole to two million one hundred and ninety-three thousand three hundred and seventy-four pounds; which divided into twenty-two equal portions, and added to his ordinary revenue, make an annual income of nearly five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to which account of the revenue, may be added tonnage and poundage; the produce of which has never yet been calculated; the increase of trade, and the exorbitant impositions which were laid on merchandise in this reign, made them very considerable †.

By an act of parliament passed in this reign, the rate of legal interest for money was reduced from ten to eight per cent. per annum ‡, which act concludes with this remarkable proviso: "No words in this law contained, shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." Sir Thomas Culpeper was chiefly instrumental in procuring this law, which he foretold would produce many happy effects; to the king in the improving of his customs; to the landlord in the advancement of his rents, and value of his estate; to the merchant in the quickness of his trade, and benefit of his returns; and to the borrower in the ease of his condition. And Sir Josiah Child, in his discourse on trade, first published in the year 1670, remarks, that in the year 1635, which was only ten years

* Macaulay's History of England, Vol. I. p. 267. octavo edition.
 † Ibidem. ‡ 21 James I. cap. 17.

after

after the making of this law, there were more merchants to be found on the exchange of London, worth one thousand pounds and upwards each, than were before the year 1600 to be found worth one hundred pounds each. That before and about the time of this reduction of interest, the current price of land was twelve years purchase, which soon after rose considerably higher. The word *interest* for the forbearance of money, was first used in this act, in its modern sense, although the word *usury* is there still applied, and used as synonymous.

The royal navy was increased in the reign of James I. almost double the number of queen Elizabeth's own ships of war, viz. from thirteen to twenty-four men of war. The largest of queen Elizabeth's ships at her death consisted of one thousand tons, carrying only three hundred and forty mariners, and forty cannon; and the smallest, of six hundred tons, carrying one hundred and fifty mariners, and thirty cannon; besides small vessels occasionally hired of private owners. In the five preceding years of 1623, king James built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a year on the fleet, beside the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he gave yearly from the royal forests*.

By an account, which seems judicious and accurate, it appears, that all the seamen employed in the merchant service, amounted to ten thousand men, which probably exceeds not the fifth part of their present number. Sir Thomas Overbury says, that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, but that their ships were of inferior burden to those of the latter†. Sir William Monson computed the English naval power

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 43.
his Travels, Harl. Misc. Vol. II. p. 349.

† Remarks on

to be little or nothing inferior to the Dutch*, which is surely an exaggeration. The Dutch, at this time, traded to England with six hundred ships; England to Holland with sixty only†.

A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the English were then eminent, would appear very contemptible, in comparison of those which flourish among them at present. Almost all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, Holland, and the Netherlands: Ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon, were the sole in which the English excelled. They seem, indeed, to have possessed alone the secret of the latter; and great complaints were made every parliament against the exportation of English ordnance.

Nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. Wool, however, was allowed to be exported till the 19th of the king. Its exportation was then forbidden by proclamation, though that edict was never strictly executed. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch; who gained, it is pretended, seven hundred thousand pounds a year by this manufacture. A proclamation issued by the king, against exporting cloth in that condition, had succeeded so ill, during one year, by the refusal of the Dutch to buy the dressed cloth, that great murmurs arose against it; and this measure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the most impolitic in the world. It seems indeed to have been premature.

In so little credit was the fine English cloth even at home, that the king was obliged to seek expedients, by which he might engage the people of

* Naval Tracts, p. 329, 350.

† Raleigh's Observations.

fashion to wear it. The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown in the kingdom.

The company of Merchant-adventurers, by their patent, possessed the sole commerce of woollen goods, though the staple commodity of the kingdom. An attempt, made during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, had been attended with bad consequences for a time, by a conspiracy of the Merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchases of cloth; and the queen immediately restored them their patent*.

In this reign the French had sailed to the Caribbee Islands, in hopes of making themselves masters of the Spanish vessels that frequented those seas. Their courage had been successful on many occasions, but they were at last obliged, in order to retreat, to seek an asylum, which they found at St. Christopher's. This island appeared to them a proper place for securing the success of their expeditions, and they were therefore desirous of procuring a settlement upon it†. Desnambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to form an establishment there, but likewise to extend it as far as he was either desirous, or was able to do, in the great Archipelago of America. This island soon became the nursery of the English as well as the French colonies in America. Both nations are said to have arrived there on the same day in 1625‡. They shared the island between them, signed a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to assist each other against their common enemy the Spaniards, who, for a century past, had invaded or disturbed the two hemispheres. But jealousy soon divided those whom interest had united. The French grew jealous of the prosperous labours of

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 132.

† Anderson on

Commerce, Vol. II. p. 20.

‡ Raynal, liv. XIV.

the English; who, on their side, could not bear patiently that an idle neighbour, whose only employment was hunting and gallantry, should be trying to rob them of their wives. This reciprocal uneasiness soon created quarrels, war, and devastations, though neither of the parties aimed at conquest. These were only domestic animosities, in which government took no part.

James was of a middle stature, and of a fair complexion: his person was plump, but not corpulent; his countenance disagreeable, his eyes being large and rolling, his beard thin, and his tongue too big for his mouth: he had an awkward air, and his gait was remarkably ungraceful, from a weakness in his knees, which prevented his walking without assistance: in his diet he was tolerably temperate, but drank little else besides rich and strong wines.

The virtues of this prince were so mixed with the vices that bordered upon them, as to exhibit no lights to set off the shades of his character. His generosity was tainted by a childish profusion, that prevented his paying his just obligations, and laid him under the necessity of attempting illegal and unjust methods of acquiring money. His friendship was directed by so puerile a fancy, that he chose the most contemptible objects, and lavished upon them unmerited favours; but he seldom advanced a man of merit to preferment.

While king of Scotland his behaviour was, in many points, unexceptionable; but the ridiculous and even profane flattery he received from many of the English nobility, raised in his mind such an high opinion of himself, as debauched him from this circumspect conduct. Among the forwardest of these sycophants was Cecil, who, on his coming to the possession of the throne of England, had the assurance to tell him, that he should find his Eng-
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lish subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burthen, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses ears. As he had a more learned education than is commonly bestowed on princes, he made pretensions to a consummate knowledge in divinity, politics, and the art of government, which procured him the vain flattering compliment of being the Solomon of the age, and has since exposed him to an high degree of ridicule. While his conduct shewed him extremely deficient in all these points, his romantic ideas of the natural rights of sovereign princes, made him publicly own his pretensions, which filled the minds of his people with an incurable jealousy; and this, with the affectation of dissembling, which he called kingcraft, rendered him the object of fear and distrust. Yet, in his conversation, he descended to buffoonery, and suffered his favourites to address him in the grossest terms of licentious familiarity, while those he himself used were no less familiar, and affectedly absurd and childish*.

* Macaulay's Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 255, &c. octavo edition.



C H A P. II.

The Naval History of Great-Britain, during the Reign of King Charles the First—Buckingham's Ascendency—France assisted with Ships from England to subdue Rochelle—The King borrows Money on his yearly Revenue—Naval Armament against Spain—Ship-money first levied—War with France—A Fleet sent to the Relief of Rochelle—The Duke of Buckingham assassinated—Tonnage and Poundage levied—Discoveries of the Dutch in the southern Hemisphere—Peace with France and Spain—Carolina first planted—Silk Manufacture of England—Ship-money levied over the whole Kingdom—Sallee taken by an English Fleet—Disgraceful Treaty with France—The King assumes a dispensing Power—Origin of the Colony of Maryland—Settlement made at Antigua—The Dutch restrained in their Fisheries—The Emigration to America prohibited—The English sack St. Jago, in Jamaica—First grand Effort of France for Naval Power—Trial of John Hampden for refusing to pay Ship-money—New East-India Company created—The Naval Power of Spain restrained by the Dutch—A Fleet and Army sent against the Scotch—Portugal becomes an independent Kingdom—Establishment of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland by Sir Thomas Wentworth—Commercial Treaty between England and Portugal—Triennial Parliaments—Ministry changed—The High Commission Court

Court and Star-Chamber abolished—Massacre in Ireland—The Commons take up Arms—Prince Rupert—Battle of Edge-hill—Bristol taken—Money raised by the Parliament during six Years—Battle of Naseby—The King delivered up to the English Commissioners—The King's Offers to Cromwel and Ireton—His close Confinement—A Fleet in the Thames declares for the King—Battle of Worcester—Charles brought to London to be tried—His Condemnation, and Execution.

UPON the demise of king James the First, his only son Charles, prince of Wales, succeeded him, with the general approbation of the people. He was then twenty-five years of age; and after the marriage treaty with Spain had been broken off, his conduct, in promoting a rupture with that kingdom, had rendered him very popular. The power and influence of Buckingham seemed rather to have gained strength by the accession of Charles to the crown. The charge of the war with Spain, the king's marriage with the princess Henrietta-Maria, and the sole direction of the administration, were entrusted to him. In the month of June 1625, Buckingham went to attend the princess with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover, from whence she proceeded to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated. A few days after the king, with his new queen, entered London privately, the plague at that time raging in the suburbs.

The parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Oxford, were far from testifying that affection for their sovereign, which a young king generally receives on the first commencement of his reign. Nor would Charles have been destitute of such

such implicit popularity, but for a measure which gave general disgust.

The marquis D'Effiat, ambassador from France to his father, had drawn from James a promise to furnish the king, his master, with a ship of war, and seven armed merchantmen, to be employed against the Genoese, who being firm and useful allies to the Spanish monarchy, were considered as enemies by the kings of England and of France. Buckingham, who was at this time warmly attached to the court of France, prevailed on Charles to lend these ships. When they arrived at Dieppe, there arose a strong suspicion that they were to serve against Rochelle, a town at that time possessed by the Hugonots, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the French monarch; and in this expedition the duke de Montmorency was to take the command. Vice-admiral Pennington, who commanded this squadron, had received particular orders from the lord high admiral; but these he did not choose to interpret to mean the delivery of the ships for the purpose they were now found to be destined. The English sailors were highly incensed, and drew up a remonstrance to their commander, in which all their names was signed in a circle, that no one should be singled out as the ringleader. Pennington hereupon declared, that he had rather be hanged in England for disobeying orders, than fight against his protestant brethren, and immediately sailed back to the Downs. The Rochellers were alarmed, and sent over to England agents to solicit the detention of this squadron; notwithstanding which, express orders were given Pennington to deliver up the fleet to the French. As Buckingham knew the general reluctance which prevailed, he caused it to be confidently reported, that a peace was concluded between the court of France and the Hugonots.

Hugonots. In the month of August, Pennington sailed a second time for Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant ships were delivered to the French. No sooner did it appear that they had been deceived, than Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, which was called the Great Neptune, weighed anchor, and put to sea; and so firmly united were all the officers and seamen on board the other ships, that notwithstanding the great offers made them by the French, they immediately departed, and returned to England, one gunner alone excepted, and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The ships remained with the French, and were actually employed against the Rochellers. This affair made a great clamour in the nation, and afterwards formed an article of impeachment against Buckingham*.

One of the first acts of the new king was to renew his late father's commission to twelve commissioners of the navy. These seem to have been mostly stationed, as at present, into distinct branches, such as a comptroller, a surveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. This board, as at present, was to be subordinate to the lord high admiral, or the admiralty board, from whom these commissioners received directions and orders in maritime affairs†.

Charles, on coming to the crown, found an exhausted Exchequer, and a heavy debt incurred by his father, which his own discretion and parsimony was not likely to remove: he was, therefore, obliged, from time to time, to borrow money on the security of his public revenues, which method of anticipation had been adopted by his father, to remove a present exigence, and increasing the mis-

* Frankland's Annals, p. 109.
Vol. II. p. 20.

† Anderson on Commerce,

chief in futurity *. Though the king was impatient to meet his parliament, yet a misunderstanding instantly arose between them, which plunged him in great difficulties to carry on the war against Spain: he, therefore, granted a special warrant to the duke of Buckingham, to borrow three hundred thousand pounds sterling of the States-general of the United Netherlands, or of their subjects, upon the pawn or pledge of a number of very rich crown jewels, and vessels of gold, adorned with precious stones, a list whereof is given in the *Fædera* †, and were delivered out of the jewel-house.

Towards the close of the summer, a fleet of eighty ships, some of which were contributed by the Dutch; on board of which were ten regiments of soldiers, were got ready at Plymouth. The king appointed his favourite commander in chief ‡; but when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of sailing, the duke declined the command, and appointed Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great lord Burleigh, in his stead. Cecil had distinguished himself as a soldier, but was very unfit to take a command at sea. The earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear admirals. To qualify him to command men of such rank, Cecil was created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbledon, and was appointed lord-marshal. "It was thought strange," says Dr. Campbell, "that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansel, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were entrusted, but in their stead such as were in the duke's favour §." Had this formidable armament been properly directed, the expedition might have terminated gloriously. The Spanish Plate-fleet was then

* Rym. Fæd. Vol. XVIII. p. 156.

† Rym. Fæd. Vol. XVII. p. 171—181.
the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 100.

‡ Vol. XVIII. p. 246.

§ Campbell's Lives of

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returning home with above a million sterling on board, and might have been intercepted, when making for the Azores, which would have been so effectual a blow at the naval strength of Spain, as must have required many years to have recovered. But much time was lost before the fleet sailed; and at last it put to sea without any regular plan of operations being concerted, and under the direction of men little qualified for such an important trust. On the 7th of October the fleet sailed from Plymouth, but when it had got some leagues to sea, it was separated by a storm, so that the ships were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent. On the 19th of October, it was resolved in a council to attack Cadiz, which they accordingly did on the 22d of the same month. My lord Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten galleys; these he bravely attacked, but for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port-Real, where the lord-marshal Cecil did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntall was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or had been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this had put the officers, engaged them to re-embark their forces; and then it was agreed to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the flota; there the men grew sickly, and by distributing the sick among the ships, the whole fleet was infected, and to such a degree, as scarce left them hands sufficient

to bring it home. This, however, they performed in December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour to themselves; all which was foretold before the fleet left England.

On their return a charge was exhibited against the general, by the earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction: lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience and unanimity proved the ruin of this expedition*. As the war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buckingham's procuring, so now he plunged the king into a war with France. The French laid siege to Rochelle: the Rochellers applied to king Charles, who sent the earl of Denbigh to their relief, with a fleet of thirty sail; but the season being far advanced, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission; and after continuing at sea some time in hard weather, returned into port. Upon this the Rochellers began to suspect the king's sincerity, whether he intended to assist them or not†. The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as admiral, and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the Island of Rhee. The duke landed his troops on the last of July, not without strong opposition from the French gover-

* Both the officers charge, and lord Wimbleton's answer, are printed in Lediard's Naval History. The reader who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.—*Campbell's Naval History.* † Rushworth, Frankland, Rapiu.

nor,

nor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion the English fell into the same errors in conduct, which they had committed in the Cadiz expedition. The fort of La Pré, which covered the landing-place, they neglected; though the French themselves in their fright had slighted it, so that it might have been taken without any trouble; and was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the English it would have prevented the French from introducing any supplies. The French court was at first exceedingly alarmed; but their terrors quickly wore away, when they found the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and too much pride to take advice. The town of St. Martin's was quickly taken by the English; and the duke then invested the citadel, but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first he quartered his troops without entrenching, which at last, however, he was glad to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a sham treaty, during which the fort received a supply. The expectation of succours from England, with some other reasons, engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished. At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared the place was inaccessible, at least to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse, than themselves, over a narrow causeway, with salt-pits on each side; yet there was no precaution

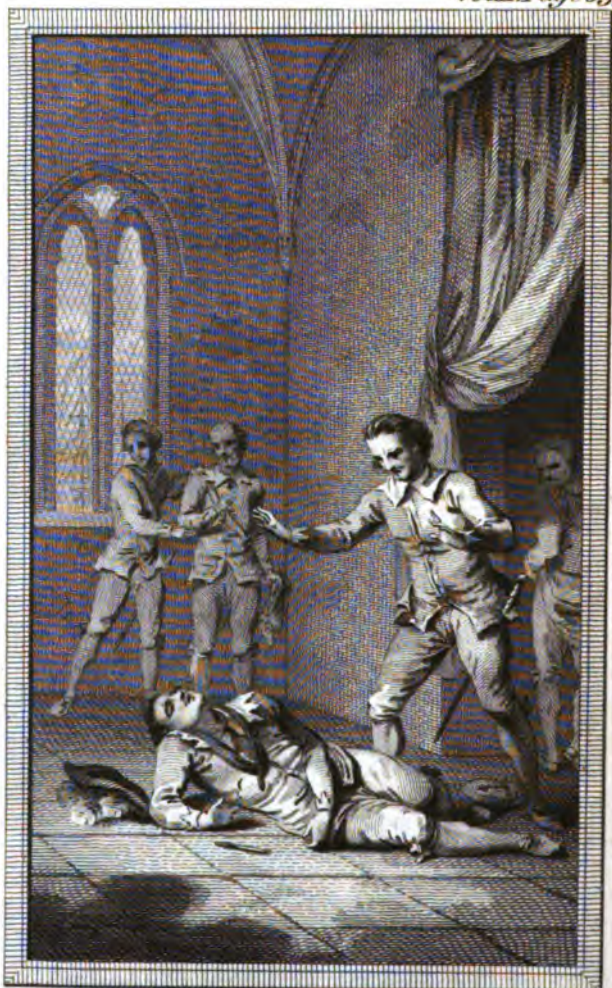
caution taken by erecting a fort, or throwing up an entrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which the army was so much exposed, that numbers of brave men were killed; the best accounts now extant say, fifty officers, two thousand soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this expedition, embarking his forces on the 9th of the same month, and sending the poor Rochellers a promise, that he would come again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform*.

The next year a naval force was prepared to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promised the inhabitants of Rochelle. Lord Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent with a fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, and sixty smaller vessels, to succour the besieged, with a recruit of men and provisions. On the 1st of May 1628, the English fleet anchored at Charleboy, in the road of Rochelle; and on the 8th a shallop, by means of a high tide, and a strong favourable wind, got safe into the harbour, and carried the news of their arrival. Immediately the inhabitants erected signals on the top of their towers, and discharged their cannon, to shew that they were ready to favour, by a diversion, the entrance of the destined succours. But after an ineffectual attempt to pass a bar, which the French had made to prevent the passage of the English ships, a council of war was called, in which the majority of the English captains gave it as their opinion, that the Rochellers had deceived them in their account of the facility of the enterprize: but the vice-admiral, and another officer named Car, exclaimed against the backwardness of the rest; and the French protes-

* Sir Richard Granville's Journal. Frankland's Annals. Rushworth's Collections. Whitlock's Memorials. Warwick's Memorials.
tants

Engraved for Hervey's Naval History.

Vol. II. Page 63.



Hand signed

The Duke of Buckingham Stabbed by Felton.

tants in the fleet, whose whole force consisted only of twenty-two or twenty-three small vessels, offered, with the assistance of four merchant ships well armed, and three fire-ships, to throw succours into the place; and agreed to pay for all the English ships that might miscarry in the attempt. Denbigh excused himself, by pretending that it was impracticable; and by insisting on the words of his commission, which were not to fight unless first attacked by the enemy: and notwithstanding the tears and prayers of the deputies from Rochelle, he refused to give any relief to that distressed town; and setting sail, returned to England. Thus, by a complication of treachery, ignorance, and cowardice, the expedition was rendered abortive.

In order to repair this dishonour, Buckingham went to Portsmouth, with a resolution to appear once more in a military capacity; and on the vast preparations made for this expedition, it is said; that all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. But on the 23d of August 1628, while the duke was at Portsmouth, and talking with warmth to the duke of Soubize, and other French officers, on his inclining his head to give directions to Sir Thomas Fryer, he received a mortal wound from an unseen hand, which struck a knife into his heart; and crying, "The villain has killed me," withdrew the fatal instrument, fell prostrate on the ground, and instantly expired.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion, every one made his own conjecture, and all agreed, that it was done by one of the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words were not understood. In the hurry of revenge, the duke's attendants instantly drew their swords, and prepared to massacre the foreigners, but were stopped by
some

some of more temper and judgment; who, though they had the same opinion of their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial. In the midst of this confusion, a hat was found near the door, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation. It was concluded, that the owner of the hat must be the murderer; but the difficulty still remained of knowing who that person was; and it was natural to believe, that he had already fled too far to be found without a hat. While they were in this perplexity, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door; on which one cried, *Here is the fellow who killed the duke.* Every body ran, asking, *Which is he?* The man presenting himself, said, *I am the person who committed the action: let not the innocent suffer.* Upon this the more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: others, more deliberate, defended and protected him; while he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the most enraged.

This assassin proved to be John Felton, a man who was brave, honest, and conscientious, but a melancholy and revengeful enthusiast. He had served as a lieutenant under Buckingham, in his expedition to the Isle of Rhee, and had entertained a personal aversion to him, for his having promoted an officer over his head. The loud complaints of the nation coinciding with his private resentment, inflamed his melancholy to a kind of phrenzy; and his enthusiasm prompted him to render himself an instrument of justice on the declared enemy of his country.

Thus fell George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, when only 35 years of age, the object of almost universal

universal hatred. "A man, says Mrs. Macaulay, of memorable insufficiency, as a statesman and a soldier; and who, with no other eminent qualities than what were proper to captivate the heart of the weakest part of the female sex, had been raised, by these qualities, to be the scourge of three kingdoms; and, by his pestilent intrigues, the chief cause of that distress, which the French Protestants at this time languished under: a man whose extraordinary influence over too successive princes, will serve, among other examples of this kind, as an everlasting monument of the contemptible government this magnanimous nation must submit to, who groan under the mean, though oppressive, yoke of an arbitrary sway, entrusted to the caprice of individuals. The expensive parade of the courtiers, and the glitter which surrounded the minions of royalty, can be, by no single example, so fully illustrated, as by the account of Buckingham's body-ornaments: the jewels he left behind him, were estimated at three hundred thousand pounds: a sum, which, at the interest-money then bore, would have brought in an income of twenty-four thousand pounds a year."

Charles was within four miles of Portsmouth when he was informed of his favourite's death, while he was upon his knees at prayers; no discomposure appeared in his actions, nor alteration in his countenance, till the service was over; when he retired to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed; where he gave vent to his sorrow, in a flood of tears and passionate expressions of regard to the memory of the deceased. His behaviour, afterwards, convinced the public, that he retained the same affection to his memory, which he had shewn to his person; for he continued to heap favours not only on all his relations, but on those dependants who had attached themselves to his fortune, and paid a vast debt which he had contracted.

Felton being carried to London, underwent several examinations before the council. Laud, who had been lately promoted to the see of London, suggested a suspicion, that the Puritans were at the bottom of the affair, and threatened the delinquent with the rack. Felton, who had before denied that he had any accomplice, told them; if that was to be his case, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of torture; and, if what he should then say was to go for truth, he could not tell whether his lordship, the bishop of London, or which of the lords at the council-board he might accuse; for torture would draw unexpected things from him. The king and council, however, consulted the judges, whether he might legally be put to the torture; but the judges determining in the negative, his majesty declared, that since it could not be done by law, he would not, in this case, use his prerogative.

Felton was brought to his trial on the twenty-seventh of November, when the unhappy enthusiast felt such exquisite remorse for his crime, that, on his receiving sentence of death, he offered that hand to be cut off, which committed the fact. Though the court refused this request, as being not within the compass of the law, Charles sent to intimate his desire to the judges, that Felton's hand might be cut off before he suffered death: but the judges answered, that the king's will could not be complied with, for in all murders the judgment was the same, unless when the statute of the 25th of Edward III. altered the nature of the offence.

On the death of the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Lindsey was appointed admiral of the fleet destined for the relief of Rochelle; Moreton and Mountjoy, vice and rear admirals. On the 8th of September, 1628, the fleet sailed for Rochelle: on their arrival, it was found that the French had cast
a mole

a mole across the harbour, which blocked up the entrance of the port, and rendered the relief of the town very difficult, if not impracticable. Two days were spent in cannonading the works, without damage on either side; and the duke de Soubise, who was at the head of the Hugonot party, and then on board the fleet, began to suspect that the English commander, who had sent several private messages into the French camp, was treating separately with the enemy. On receiving intelligence that the town could not hold out above two days, he offered with the French ships to attempt the mole, if the English would engage to follow him. The count of Leval proposed, with artificial mines, contrived in three ships lined with bricks, to attempt to blow it up. Both these proposals were rejected in a council of war, and more time consumed in fruitless cannonading. The English captains in the fleet, who had been all of Buckingham's nomination, and who had hitherto refused to assent to any effectual method of combating the obstacles that prevented the flinging in relief to the town, at length determined, in a council of war, to make one decisive attack; but before this could be put in execution, Rochelle was forced to capitulate*. The very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English fleet †. ‡

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* Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. II. page 21. quarto edition.
† Frankland's Annals.

‡ The king sent a letter dated 19th of May, 1628, and addressed to the mayor, sheriffs, peers, and burgesses of Rochelle, in which he writes. "Gentlemen. Be not discouraged although my fleet is returned; hold out to the last, for I am resolved my whole fleet shall perish, rather than you be not relieved. To this effect, I have ordered it to return back to your coasts, and am sending several ships to reinforce it: with the help of God the success shall be happy for you." He afterwards sent a second letter to them dated the 27th of the same month.
* Gentlemen. I have been much troubled to hear that my fleet w^o

The taking of this place was a fatal blow to the reformation in France, as the French were immediately deprived of all the privileges which they enjoyed in consequence of the edict of Nantz in 1598. The original edict was vested in the hands of the Rochellers, who preserved it in their town till its destruction, as a sacred deposit. In this fortress the reformed held their synods, and all those general assemblies, in which they consulted on their common interest*.

At this time the French paid great attention to their marine, and viewed with a jealous eye the progress which the English made in maritime strength. Cardinal Richlieu who then governed France, under the reign of Louis XIII. was a statesman, who well understood the different interests and views of the European powers, and had the address to render them subservient to his own purposes. By his intrigues the Swedes were led to attack the house of Austria in Germany. The jealousy of the Dutch was excited against England from the dominion which it claimed over the narrow seas, the exclusive right of fishing in particular latitudes, and the respect required to be paid to his flag. The Dutch were very averse to acknowledge these claims on the part of England; and the learned Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise under the title of *Mare liberum*†, wherein he discovered great abilities in shewing the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea, which he asserted was a gift from God com-

upon the point of returning home, without obeying my orders in supplying you with provisions: cost what it will I have commanded them to return to your road, and not to come away till you are supplied. Assure yourselves that I shall never abandon you, and that I shall employ the whole power of my kingdom for your deliverance, until God assist me, to obtain for you an assured peace.

Your good friend, Charles R."

* Moreau, Vol. VII. p. 144. & seq.

† First published in 1622.

mon to all nations. This treatise was answered by Mr. Selden, in a book which he intitled, *Mare clausum*; wherein he demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired; he likewise proved, from the most authentic historians, that such dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others, for their common benefit; that this, in fact, was the case of the inhabitants of this island, who at all times, and in every form of government, had claimed, exercised, and constantly enjoyed, such a dominion which had been confessed by their neighbours, frequently, and in the most solemn manner. This work maintained with great depth of learning, force of argument, and strength of judgment, that the inhabitants of this island of Great Britain, possess an hereditary, uninterrupted right to the sovereignty of their seas, conveyed to them by their earliest ancestors, in trust for their latest posterity. This famous book was published in 1634, and met with the warm patronage of King Charles.

The disgraceful expedition to Rochelle finished the operation of the war with France, the failure of which was strongly suspected to have been owing to the influence which the queen had in the English cabinet.

Whilst the war with France continued, Sir David Kirk, who had settled in the southern coasts of the great river St. Lawrence, at the head of a colony of Scots, attacked the French in their infant settlements in Canada: these they subdued, together with the castle of Quebec. The same year they conquered Nova Scotia, which the French had wrested from Sir William Alexander, the first possessor. On the settlement of the terms of treaty of St. Germaine in Laye, in 1632, the French agreed

agreed to acknowledge the right of Great-Britain to all Nova Scotia; and it is said, they agreed to pay Sir David Kirk fifty thousand pounds, for quitting the forts which he had possessed himself of in Canada; which sum, however, was never paid*.

In the reign of Henry IV. of France, who introduced tranquillity and freedom into the kingdom which he governed, the French first turned their thoughts to the establishment of distant colonies. Florida had indeed been visited in 1562 by some Frenchmen, sent thither by admiral Coligny, who formed a settlement to the southward of Carolina. The Spaniards, ever apprehensive of a neighbourhood, attacked these inoffensive people, and put them all to the sword; but as they had embraced the tenets of the reformation, and as the Spaniards were fearful of incurring the resentment of France by this step, the reason they assigned for the massacre was, their being heretics; and they thereby gained their end, for the ministry of Charles IX. secretly rejoiced at the miscarriage of a project, which was set on foot by the leader of the Hugonots. When the spirit of colonization began to be adopted by the French government, it was not thought adviseable to make choice of Florida, lest Spain should be irritated, as that kingdom was not disposed to suffer the least settlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation so formidable in those parts, determined them to keep at a distance; they therefore made choice of the more northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Normandy, Bretagne, and Gascony, carried on the cod-fishery on the great sand-bank along the coasts of Newfoundland.

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 34.

Such

Such employment rendered them bold and experienced seamen, and these first conducted their countrymen, at the close of the sixteenth century, to the entrance of the river St. Laurence. The first settlers, however, fell a sacrifice to the inclemencies of the climate, and the inexperience of those who promoted the undertaking at home. Many expeditions were sent on foot, which cost France more men, money, and ships, than were necessary to the foundation of an empire*. At last, Samuel de Champlain went a considerable way up the river St. Laurence; and in 1608, upon the borders of that river, laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the origin, centre, and capital of New France, or Canada; and from him the smallest, and most western of the great lakes, takes its name.

The commerce of France was uniformly encouraged during the administration of the cardinal Richlieu; for which purpose he incorporated a society of one hundred merchants for traffic, both to the east and west, by sea and land, with a capital of six hundred thousand livres †, who also engaged to lay out a sum equal to that, in building stout ships at Morbihan, near Vannes, in Bretagne, where this company erected warehouses and docks. This company had the exclusive privilege of the trade to Canada. From the attention which the cardinal bestowed to trade, he had the title conferred on him of superintendant-general of the commerce and navigation; and was likewise created high admiral of France ‡.

On the 2d of March 1628-9, king Charles dissolved his parliament; in the proclamation for

* Raynal, liv. XV.
and fifty pounds sterling.
published 1646.

† Forty-three thousand seven hundred
‡ Howell's Life of Louis XIII.

which

which many severe reflections are thrown out against those members of the house of commons as opposed his measures*. By which the differences between him and his people, became daily wider. From this time till the year 1640 no parliament was summoned, the king making use of his royal prerogative to raise money, by a variety of arbitrary and illegal methods. Various were the shifts and devices which he practised for procuring of money, without the assistance of parliament. We find, in the nineteenth volume of the *Fœdera* †, that in the year 1629 the king commissioned Sir Sackville Crowe to procure six hundred and ten pieces of iron cannon to be cast; and he employed Philip Burlamach, an eminent merchant, to sell four thousand ton weight of this cannon to the States-general of the United Netherlands, for the redeeming from them his crown jewels ‡; which proves that England was eminent for its manufacture of iron artillery, beyond any other country in Europe.

About this time the Dutch East-India Company sent out ships from their factory at Batavia, for the purpose of making discoveries in the Southern Pacific Ocean. One of these ships fell in with the coast of a very extensive country, which, from the name of the ship which first arrived at it, was called *Eeendraght* (Concord) Land. As many other Dutch navigators afterwards visited different parts of the coast, the whole country received the general name of New-Holland, and was supposed to be part of an extensive southern continent, which was called *Terra Australis*, or *South-Pole Lands*. It does not appear that the Dutch ever attempted to settle in any part of the countries which they discovered, and indeed they seem to have had no

* Rym. Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 29.
Vol. XIX. p. 99.

† Page 39.

‡ *Fœdera*,

enducement

enducement for making such an attempt. The extent of this country remained undetermined until captain Cook, in 1769, sailed along the eastern coast of New-Holland, and fully proved it to be an island of prodigious extent, very thinly inhabited by a race of Indians, who seem miserably destitute of every means by which life is rendered comfortable. This bold and skilful navigator has fully proved the non-existence of a southern continent; at least of any inhabitable land in those regions.

Very different were the views of Charles from those of that enterprizing republic. He was bent on extorting money from his subjects by oppressive and illegal means, in doing which he heavily fettered foreign commerce, by exacting, with great rigour, the tax of tonnage and poundage; for the neglect of paying which, as well as for freely censuring the proceedings of government, several merchants of London were committed to prison, and obliged to purchase their enlargement by paying down exorbitant fines.

The colony of Maryland was planted in 1632, a country hitherto accounted part of Virginia. King Charles made a grant of it to Cæcilius Calvert, afterwards created lord Baltimore, and whose father had been secretary of state to king James. The king himself named it Maryland, in honour of his queen Henrietta-Maria.

“Charles the First” says the Abbé Raynal, “from having an aversion for the catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the

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catholics

catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by queen Elizabeth and king James I. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. But as he found there no toleration for an exclusive system of faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time, but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances, which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with cheerfulness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour. The view of the peace and happiness which they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore likewise granted the most extensive

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five civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the Mother Country *."

Some English families about the same time ventured to settle on the island of Antigua (or Antego) in the neighbourhood of St. Christopher's, although it was for some time reckoned uninhabitable, because it had no fresh-water brooks, or scarce any other but rain water preserved in ponds or cisterns. And for that reason it was soon after deserted by them, and remained uninhabited till after the restoration.

We find in the nineteenth volume of the *Fædera*, † the king's special warrant to his treasury, declaring that notwithstanding the laws and customs of England forbade the exportation of any gold or silver to foreign parts, either in coin or bullion; yet he being desirous of cultivating the friendship of his dear brother the king of Spain, and of the merchants of the Spanish Netherlands, grants a license to the said merchants to export gold and silver, either in English coin or otherwise, being the produce of the merchandize they shall import into England, as far as the amount of 2000*l.* sterling, in every ship returning home; so as the said money be exported within the space of one hundred days, from their unlading the merchandize they import, until the king shall otherwise ordain. *Any statute or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.*

In the year 1632, Charles the First concluded a treaty of peace with France, which was signed at St. Germain en Laye, whereby was shamefully confirmed the giving up to France the countries of La Cadie, (Acadia) and of Canada. All the disputes we have since had with France concerning

* Raynal, English translation, Vol. 5. p. 271.

† Page 396.

North America originated from this treaty, the English cabinet being therein miserably out-witted by Richlieu's superior dexterity. It is true the country ceded to France by this treaty, was not then esteemed of the importance which after-times have shewn it to be; yet it was obvious to discern even then, that in proportion as the French colonies increased in population and commerce, these places would be of the utmost consequence to France, and very dangerous to England. Hereby Port Royal and Cape Breton were given up, the possession of which furnished France with a fair pretext for settling on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, and thence gradually laying claim to all that part of Nova Scotia which borders on New England: on the contrary, sound policy required, that the French should be confined to their original settlements on the north and north-west sides of the great river St. Lawrence.

In all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs, Laud, bishop of London, had now great influence over the king. This man, says Hume, was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, in imposing, by rigorous measures, his own tenets and ceremonies on the obstinate Puritans, who profanely dared to oppose him. In the prosecution of his holy purposes, the heat and indiscretion of his temper, made him neglect the views of prudence and humanity; and while he imagined all his enemies to be the enemies of loyalty and true piety, he considered the very exercise of his revenge as meritorious.

This prelate was directed by the king to enquire into the ecclesiastical state of the province of Canterbury;

terbury; and in the report which he delivered in he represented, that the Dutch churches of Canterbury and Sandwich, were great nurseries of in-conformity: and he prays his majesty, that such of the French, Italian, and Dutch congregations, as are born his subjects, may not be suffered any longer to live in such a separation as they do; and insinuated the danger of the church of England, from a toleration of foreign protestants. The Walloons of Norwich too were under the same prohibition, though they pleaded the toleration granted them by Edward VI. and from him uninterruptedly enjoyed to that very time; but Laud's answer was positive; "they must obey." And the king against the margin of this report wrote, *Put me in mind of this at some convenient time, when I am at council, and I shall redress it.* This bigotted churchman thought it a great piece of condescension, in permitting those Walloons and Dutch, who were not born in England, to enjoy their own way of worship; but the children of such he compelled to go to their parish churches. So little did Charles understand the true interest of his country, and of its commerce. A contemporary writer affirms, that Laud's injunctions for those foreigners educating their children in a different profession from their own, forced one hundred and forty families into Holland, where they taught the Dutch the woollen manufacture, which has proved of very bad consequence to England*.

In 1634 an arbitrary tax was introduced, called ship-money, the plea for which was, the providing a fleet to prevent the Dutch from fishing on the British coasts. The first writs of this kind were directed to sea-port towns only; but two years after,

* Rogers Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England.

ship-money was levied on the whole kingdom, in the following manner :

A List of the Forty-four Ships, which the several Counties of England and Wales were required to supply in 1636, by the arbitrary Warrant of King Charles the First.

			Tons.	Men.
Dorsetshire, one ship of	—	—	500—	200
Cornwall, one of	—	—	650—	260
Leicestershire, one of	—	—	450—	180
Middlesex (Westminster included) one of	—	—	550—	220
Suffolk, one of	—	—	800—	320
Huntingdonshire, one of	—	—	200—	80
Buckinghamshire, one of	—	—	450—	180
Bedfordshire, one of	—	—	300—	120
Derbyshire, one of	—	—	350—	140
Hertfordshire, one of	—	—	400—	160
Norfolk, one of	—	—	800—	320
Cumberland and Westmoreland jointly,	}		100—	40
one of			600—	240
Yorkshire two, each of	—	—	600—	240
Staffordshire, one of	—	—	200—	80
Wilts, one of	—	—	700—	290
Herefordshire, one of	—	—	400—	160
Monmouthshire, one of	—	—	150—	60
Shropshire, one of	—	—	450—	180
Surry, one of	—	—	400—	160
Hampshire, one of	—	—	600—	240
Warwickshire, one of	—	—	400—	160
Devonshire, one of	—	—	900—	360
Kent, one of	—	—	800—	320
Northamptonshire, one of	—	—	600—	240
Nottinghamshire, one of	—	—	350—	140
Berks, one of	—	—	400—	160
Oxon, one of	—	—	350—	140
			Rutland—	

		Tons.	Men.
Rutlandshire, one of	—	100	40
Bristol city, one of	—	200	80
Gloucestershire, one of	—	550	220
Cambridgeshire, one of	—	350	140
Lincolnshire, one of	—	800	320
Somersetshire, one of	—	800	320
Northumberland, one of	—	500	200
Worcestershire, one of	—	400	160
Suffex, one of	—	500	200
London city two, each of	—	800	320
		800	320
Durham county, one of	—	200	80
Lancashire, one of	—	350	140
Essex, one of	—	800	320
Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan-shires, one of	—	500	200
Montgomery, Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvon, Anglesea, and Merioneth-shires, one of	—	400	160

Total 44 ships, consisting of 21,500 8610

This duty was repeated four years, viz. to 1639, and was valued at 200,000*l.* per annum *.

The manner in which this tax was levied, will appear from the instance of the county of Essex, whose contribution was estimated at 8000*l.* of which the following towns paid as under; the rest was levied on the parishes at large, viz.

Thaxstead	—	40
Walden	—	80
Colchester	—	400
Malden	—	80
Harwich	—	20

£. 620

* Royal Treasury of England.

The

The precept issued to the county and towns of Dorsetshire, commands them to procure and fit out a ship of five hundred tons burden, with a commander, and two hundred sailors, with cannon, small arms, spears, darts, ammunition, &c. answerable; and stored with provisions, and double equipage, and all other necessaries for twenty-six weeks at least. All which were to be paid and maintained at their own charge *. King Charles likewise built the largest ship of war ever seen in England, which was called the Royal Sovereign; it was of seventeen hundred and forty tons burden, and mounted ninety-six guns.

After the king had issued out a proclamation for restraining all but his own subjects from fishing on his coasts, without his licence, he sent out a fleet of sixty sail, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, who was created lord high admiral, Sir John Pennington was vice admiral, and Sir Henry Marston rear admiral. They sailed first to the Downs, and from thence to the North, where the Dutch buffes were fishing on the coast. The admiral required them to forbear, which they not seeming disposed to do, he fired upon them, took and sunk some, and dispersed the rest. The Dutch hereupon agreed to pay the king of England thirty thousand pounds for permission to continue their fishing during the summer, and were disposed to pay a future yearly tribute for the like liberty †.

The terrors of arbitrary power, joined to persecution for religion, now raging in England, many of the Puritans set sail for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they were bereaved in their native country. But their

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 658.
p. 322.

† Rushworth, Vol. II.

enemies,

enemies, unwilling that they should any where enjoy ease and the liberty of conscience, prevailed on the king to issue a proclamation, to put a stop to these emigrations. Eight ships lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of the council; and in these were embarked Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who were resolved for ever to abandon their native country, and to fly to the New World, where they might enjoy their religious and civil liberty. But the king had afterwards sufficient reason to repent of this step.

In the year 1637, while the law itself was rendered the instrument of despotism, one man, who had before suffered imprisonment, rather than consent to an illegal loan, again stood forth, and combated the new state monster, ship-money. John Hampden, of an ancient family, and considerable fortune, had been rated at twenty shillings, for an estate he possessed in Buckinghamshire; and notwithstanding the powers of the constitution seemed to be entirely subdued; notwithstanding there was no prospect of relief from parliament; notwithstanding the ministers of Charles were armed with power, and held in one hand the sword, in the other the yoke over their helpless country; this illustrious patriot, by an appeal to the laws of the realm, resolutely stood the resentment of a tyrant, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition. After many pleadings and traverses, the cause was heard before all the judges in the exchequer-chamber. Twelve days were spent in the pleadings of the lawyers, and the case was afterwards argued by the judges. Precedents of writs were produced as ancient as the times of the Saxons; but when these writs were examined, they were found only to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send

their ships for the defence of the nation. But the power exercised by the crown was entirely abolished by a particular statute; and all the authority which remained, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid by the crown. Yet, notwithstanding this, and Mr. Hampden's counsel unanswerably proving the illegality of the tax, from the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the positive dictates of the Great Charter, and other constitutional acts; and from the petition of right, which had been lately so solemnly enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature, the prostituted bench of judges, four individuals excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; yet the point in dispute was so impotently contested by the pleaders on the side of prerogative, that nothing could equal the iniquity of their intentions, but the weakness of their arguments.

Though Hampden lost his cause, he obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy; these national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear, that the old constitution was totally subverted, and tyranny established in its stead. Slavish principles, they said, concurred with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the monarch.

Ship-money continued to be exacted with the utmost rigour, and to keep up appearances, a fleet for some time paraded on the seas. Yet the neutrality of the English ports was not only violated by

by Spain, France, and Holland, but the English merchantmen were frequently taken by the ships of each of those powers, and particularly the Hollanders took three English East-India ships, valued at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

When Charles thought he had firmly established an unlimited power over Great-Britain, he seriously entered into the project of bringing the three kingdoms into a perfect conformity to that form of worship, which he deemed most agreeable to absolute monarchy. In 1633, when he returned from Scotland, he left in charge with the bishops there, to compile a liturgy, and a book of canons, which were to be transmitted into England for Laud's approbation. The bishops of Scotland exerted their new-acquired authority with great imperiousness; not satisfied with the general high-commission court, they produced warrants from the king, for setting up such a jurisdiction in their several dioceses. Civil offices in Scotland were also dealt out to churchmen with a bountiful hand. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, was created chanicellor; nine bishops were privy-counsellors, and possessed places in the Exchequer. Besides these grievances, which were highly resented by the Scotch nobility, the manner in which the king imposed on them the law of resumption of the crown lands, and the law which enlarged his power in ecclesiastical matters, and confirmed religion in its present state, rendered them quite desperate: but they cautiously concealed their sentiments, and impatiently waited for an opportunity, when Charles, by an act of apparent illegal power, should convince the multitude, that the times demanded a determined opposition.

Sir Thomas Wentworth had been a strenuous opposer of the measures of the crown, but the king found means to draw him off from the cause of the

people; he first created him a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford, made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland. In which latter post lord Wentworth laid the first foundation of the affluence and posterity of Ireland. According to Dr. Leland, he found among the Irish little trade or manufactures, except some small beginnings of a cloathing trade, which promised to increase, and might in time affect the staple commodity of England. Ireland furnished wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets on more moderate terms than the English traders. A governor particularly jealous of any diminution of the king's customs was alarmed at this prospect. He considered farther, that the Irish subjects, if restrained from indraping their own wool, must of necessity fetch their cloathing from England, so as in some sort to be dependent on this country for their livelihood. Hence the connection of these realms must become firm and indissoluble, as the Irish could not revolt from their allegiance to the crown without nakedness to themselves and their families. For these reasons he laid discouragements on their woollen manufactures; but at the same time determined to establish another article of trade, at least equally beneficial to this people, and which promised service rather than detriment to England.

It was judged that the soil of Ireland was well fitted to the raising of flax: some experiments made by order of the deputy confirmed it; the women were naturally addicted to spinning; the living, and consequently the labour of the Irish was cheap; could they be trained to the manufacture of linen cloth. Wentworth, with the sanguine hopes of a projector, conceived that they might soon be enabled to undersel the French and Hollanders; he therefore determined to establish this manufacture

in

in Ireland. Flax seed was imported from Holland, workmen were brought from France and the Low Countries. The seed prospered; the people were employed; looms fitted up; regulations prescribed for yarn and cloth, so as to secure the sale by the value of the commodity. Such were the beginnings of the linen trade of Ireland*.

About this time colonel Jackson with a number of English ships from the Leeward Islands, landed on the then Spanish island of Jamaica, and with only five hundred men attacked the fort of St. Jago de la Vega, which contained two thousand Spaniards. The fort and city they took and sacked, with the loss of only forty men. After which, and having received a ransom for forbearing to burn the town, they re-embarked †.

The Spaniards had possessed themselves of two small islands on the coast of Provence, near Antibes called Marguerite and Honorate, whereby they greatly annoyed the French coast. To retaliate these injuries, the French fitted out forty-two ships at Rochelle, and sailing into the Mediterranean they were joined by twenty-four gallies, all which were commanded by the count de Harcourt, who, on the coast of Italy near Monaco, attacked the joint fleets of Spain, Sicily, Naples, and Florence, and obtained a complete victory, sinking their best ships, and putting the rest to flight. After which the admiral made a descent on the island of Sardinia, which he ravaged. ‡

Cardinal Richlieu had been for several years increasing the French navy, by purchasing ships from foreign nations as well as building them in the ports of France; with this force he recovered the two islands from the Spaniards, and beat the Spanish fleet, taking five large Spanish ships, twenty-two

* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. III. p. 29.

† Anderson on

Commerce, Vol. II. p. 55.

‡ Morisotus Orbis Maritimus.

gallies,

gallics, and eighteen smaller vessels. This was, properly, the first time that France began to show her superiority over Spain at sea, as she had before done by land.

Although the declension of Spain was now become extremely visible, yet in the year 1639, that monarchy made the greatest effort at sea that it had ever done since the famous armada. The Spanish fleet, at this time, consisted of sixty-seven large ships from Corunna, carrying twenty-five thousand seamen, and twelve thousand foldiers. It was intended to relieve Dunkirk, before which the Dutch fleet lay, and otherwise to support their Netherland provinces. This great armada the Dutch attacked in the channel, and afterwards in the Downs; their fleet consisted of one hundred ships, and was commanded by Van Tromp. After a long contest he obtained the victory, and destroyed most of the Spanish ships; among which was a great Portuguese galleon of fourteen hundred tons, eighty cannon, and eight hundred men. The English fleet, consisting of thirty-four ships of war, commanded by Sir John Pennington, endeavoured to prevent the two fleets coming to action, and they actually continued three weeks off the coast of Kent, watching the motions of each other. This terrible blow to Spain, which was followed by several subsequent defeats at sea by the French, entirely broke the naval power of Spain, which it has never recovered. These disasters induced Spain to come into terms with the Dutch at the treaty of Munster.

A new East-India Company was set on foot in England, to which king Charles granted a licence to trade in all parts of India, where the old company had not settled any factories, for the term of five years*.

* Rymer's *Fœderata*, Vol. XX. p. 146.

The discontent and opposition which the king met with in England, on his endeavouring to establish uniformity of worship in that kingdom, might have checked his impatience to introduce the same innovations in the church of Scotland; but he still persisted in his attempts, and an order was published for reading the liturgy in Scotland. This excited such a spirit of opposition in the Scotch, that they entered into a covenant to suppress the bishops, and resist the king's authority. This was considered as an open declaration of war, and Charles summoned the nobility of England, who held lands of the crown, to furnish troops to suppress this confederacy. To add to his supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy; and, by means of his queen, the catholics also were pressed for their assistance. The king's fleet was formidable, and well supplied, on board of which were five thousand land-forces: the command of this armament was bestowed on the marquis of Hamilton, who was ordered to sail to the Frith of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malecontents. An army was likewise raised, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and about three thousand horse, which was commanded by the earl of Arundel. This army the king himself joined.

It was now eleven years since Charles had called a parliament; the opposition which his arbitrary proceedings had met with from the last, had given him a distaste to such a constitutional assembly. His wants, however, at length constrained him to stifle his resentment, and to call another parliament. But here he found a more violent opposition to his measures than he had hitherto met with: the house of commons could not be induced to treat the Scotch, who were of the same principles with them.

themselves, and contended for the same cause, as their enemies. They looked upon them as friends and brethren, who, by taking up arms, had taught them to defend their privileges. The king could, therefore, reap no other fruits from this assembly, but murmuring and complaints: every method he had taken to supply himself with money, was declared an abuse. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billeting of soldiers on the citizens, were all voted arbitrary and illegal stretches of the royal prerogative. The star-chamber gave particular offence, and instead of subsidies, the house presented the king with nothing but grievances. Charles, meeting with so resolute an opposition to his views, once more dissolved his parliament, and thereby aggravated the popular discontents.

When the parliament was dissolved, the king continued to exact all the taxes against which the commons had so frequently remonstrated. Had he really been a despotic prince, such a conduct would have shook him on the throne; but, limited as he was, it served to complete his overthrow. He could expect little assistance from England; and the Scotch, sensible of their own power in that part of his dominions, led an army of twenty thousand men, as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in order to seize upon, or dethrone, the king. Charles having thus hedged himself round with embarrassments, found himself necessitated to call that parliament which completed his ruin.

The eager expectations of all men were raised from a parliament summoned at so critical a juncture, and during such general discontents. From the situation of affairs it could not be abruptly dissolved, and it was to execute every thing left unfinished by former parliaments. It was no sooner assembled

assembled than it entered upon business, and by unanimous consent, struck a blow of a very important and decisive nature. The earl of Strafford was considered as chief minister, both on account of the credit which he held with his master, and of his own great and uncommon vigour and capacity. By having been the chief abetter of arbitrary measures, that man laboured under the severe hatred of all the three nations which composed the British monarchy*.

Strafford, sensible of the load of obloquy under which he had fallen, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament. But when the earl urged to the king the danger to which he was exposed from appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, Charles, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament†. The commons were no sooner assembled, than they exhibited an accusation of twenty-eight articles against the favourite, which charged him with having attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and with being guilty of several exactions in Ireland. The impeachment amounted to a charge of high treason, and the people without doors loudly demanded justice. Those who were appointed by the house of commons, to make good their charges at the bar of the house of lords, before whom the delinquent was tried, made use of a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions; innocent in themselves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, shall, when united, amount to treason, and subject the party to the highest penalties inflicted by the law. The earl defended himself with great presence of mind and strength of reasoning; his children stood beside him, whilst, in a long and

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 565.
Memorials p. 36.

† Whitelocke's

eloquent speech, which he delivered extempore, he endeavoured to exculpate himself of the crimes laid to his charge: this he concluded by saying; "but, my lords, I have troubled you too long, longer than I should have done, but for the sake of those dear pledges a saint in heaven has left me." Here he pointed to his children, and his tears stopped his utterance. "What I forfeit for myself is a trifle, but I confess that my indiscretion should reach my posterity wounds me to the heart. Pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now my lords for myself, I have long been taught the extreme vanity of all temporal enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly and freely, to your judgments; and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great author of my existence *."

The king, who was present at the trial, which continued eighteen days, upon its being finished, went to the house of lords, and spoke in the earl's defence. But the spirit of the people was excited, and nothing but the blood of the unpopular nobleman could appease it. He was found guilty, and all that remained to determine his fate, was for the king to give his assent to the bill of attainder. Whilst Charles continued in an agitation of mind, not knowing how to behave, Strafford took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, but innocent life, and to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them the request for which they were

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 659, &c.

so importunate. Perhaps Strafford hoped that this unusual instance of generosity would engage the king still more strenuously to protect him: perhaps he gave his life for lost, and absolutely despaired of ever escaping the multiplied dangers, with which he was every way environed. After the most violent conflict in the king's breast, he at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners he empowered at the same time to give his assent to a bill which rendered the parliament perpetual.* Three days afterwards the earl was beheaded.

The proceedings against the earl of Strafford have been considered as unprecedented and illegal, but it should be considered that the constitution was not at that time settled on the firm basis on which it now rests. If in bringing of this distinguished character to the block, the law of power was exerted over the law of the land, it ought to be considered as the first rude effort of the people at large to bring a legal process against a court-minion; and such exertions are always wild and irregular. It is however unquestionable that Strafford had, with a high hand, promoted the arbitrary schemes of his royal master; if therefore he was devoted to popular resentment, we, who live in an age in which the nature of government is better ascertained, and the duty of ministers more clearly defined, ought surely whilst we pity the victim, to acknowledge the expediency of the sacrifice.

Bishop Laud, at the same time that Strafford was impeached, was imprisoned in the Tower, and every other active instrument of tyranny felt more or less of that vindictive spirit, which was now gone forth in the

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 415

nation. This bigotted and ill-judging prelate finished his life on the scaffold a few years after.

Thus the storm, which was only gathering in clouds during the reign of James, now began to rumble, and present a formidable aspect. The notions of religious liberty, by a natural coincidence, united with the love of civil liberty : the same spirit which had made an attack upon the established faith, now directed itself to politics : the royal prerogatives were brought under the same examination as the doctrines of the church of Rome had undergone ; and as a superstitious religion had proved unable to support the test, so neither could an authority, pretending to be unlimited, be expected to bear it. The commons were recovering from the astonishment into which the extinction of the power of the barons by that of the crown had at first thrown them. Taking a view of the state of the nation, and of their whole strength, they determined to avail themselves of both, to repress a power which seemed for so long a time to have levelled every barrier. Finding among themselves men of the greatest capacity, they undertook that important task with method, and by constitutional means ; and the king had thus to cope with a whole nation, put in motion, and directed by an assembly of statesmen *.

Charles, in the former part of his reign, had endeavoured to subdue the inflexible spirit of the commons, by steadily adhering to the measures which he had adopted ; by a stately dignity of behaviour, and by maintaining, at their utmost height, and even stretching beyond former precedents, the claims of prerogative. Convinced at length, of the inexpediency of such principles, and experiencing but too sensibly the humiliating

* Defolme, p. 51.

condition

condition into which they had plunged him, he now resolved to alter his whole conduct; and sat about regaining the confidence of his people, by compliances and condescensions.

The parliament having gained a decided superiority, began to inquire into the abuses which had crept into government. The house of commons examined the regal claims to tonnage and poundage. The levying of these duties, as formerly, without consent of parliament, was such an incongruity in a free constitution, where the people by their fundamental privileges cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, by which the commons granted these duties to the king, they took care in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent right of assuming it. In the instructions which the house of commons gave to the committee who framed this bill, they were directed to take care to fix the rates upon exportation as low as possible, and those upon importation as high as trade would bear *. Which is no unfavourable specimen of the political sagacity of those times.

During this reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently if necessary †. The practice of Charles and his father had been in direct violation of this regulation; for such assemblies had never been called by them, but when the revenue was unable to support the expences of government. To bring the constitution back to its first principles, the house of commons now passed a bill for triennial parliaments. It was enacted,

* Journals, 3d June, 1641.
Edward III. cap. 10.

† 4th Edward III. cap. 14. 36th

that

that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the 3d of September in every third year, any twelve, or more, of the peers, should be empowered to exercise such authority. In default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. By this act, the parliament after it was assembled could not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days. This bill retrenched the assumed prerogatives of the crown, and established a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble parliaments must be expected in the king, when these assemblies made it their first and chief care to controul the power assumed by government. During long intermissions of parliament, grievances and abuses, as were found by recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become necessary for the king and council to exert a great discretionary authority, and by acts of state to supply, in every emergence, the legislative power, whose meeting was so uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding that nothing less would satisfy his parliament and people, at last gave his assent to this bill, which produced so great an innovation in the constitution*. Solemn thanks were presented him by both houses; and great rejoicings were expressed both in the city, and throughout the nation. The inference which the king's partizans drew from this acquiescence in present necessity was, that he had certainly adopted a new plan of government, and

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p: 209.

for the future was resolved, by every indulgence, to acquire the confidence and affection of his people*.

Immediately on the passing this act, Charles, by the advice of the marquis of Hamilton, made a very thorough change in his ministry. In one day several new privy-counsellors were sworn; the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol; the lords Say, Saville, Kimbolton; to which was soon after added the earl of Warwick. All these noblemen were of the popular party. Hollis was appointed secretary of state in the room of Wildebanks, who had fled; Pym chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of lord Cottington, who had resigned; lord Say master of the wards, in the room of the same nobleman; the earl of Essex governor, and Hampden tutor to the prince. But most of these appointments were soon after revoked.

The two ruling passions of the parliament were, zeal for liberty, and an aversion to the church: to both these propensities nothing could appear more exceptionable, than the court of high commission, whose institution rendered it entirely arbitrary, and assigned to it the defence of the ecclesiastical establishment. The star-chamber also was a court which exerted high discretionary powers, and had no precise rule or limit, either with regard to the causes which came under its jurisdiction, or the decisions which it formed. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish these two courts, and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. By the same bill the jurisdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abridged. The king showed a strong disinclination to assent to this bill; but finding that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he possessed

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 394.

no resource in case of a rupture, he, at length, affixed the royal sanction to this excellent bill. To show the parliament, however, that he was well aware of the importance of his grant, he observed to them, that the statute which he then passed, altered, in a great measure, the fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of his predecessors had established*.

About this time the states of Holland sent a splendid embassy to Charles, to propose such a league between the two nations as should tend to the furtherance of both their interest. At the same time the young prince of Orange demanded the princess Mary in marriage. The king readily assented to these proposals, which were much relished by the people. He condescended to lay the proposal before the house of Peers, and ask their advice upon it. That house testified its full approbation of the measure. The princess at this time was not above twelve years of age†.

Whilst England was divided by civil dissensions, the kingdom of Portugal found means to emancipate itself from the yoke of Spain. John, duke of Braganza, having driven out the Spaniards, ascended the throne of Portugal, by the name of king John IV. This revolution was extremely beneficial to England, as Spain being thereby stripped of the Portuguese settlements in the East-Indies, having few or no manufactures of her own, and but little product, wines excepted, she was incapable, without the assistance of Portugal, of supplying her American provinces with articles for their

* Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 307. Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI. p. 440.

† By this treaty of marriage it was stipulated, that the lady's portion should be forty thousand pounds sterling, and her dowry ten thousand pounds yearly in lands. The domestics she was to carry over from England were in all twenty six men and forty women.—*General Collection of Treaties, Vol. I. p. 312.*

consump-

consumption. After this period, the English, Dutch, Hamburgers, and latest of all the French, have furnished Spain with the chief commodities and manufactures which she consumes at home, as well as what she transports to her American territories. The last regal record preserved in Mr. Rymer's inestimable collection is, a treaty of peace and friendship concluded between king Charles and John the fourth king of Portugal, by which a free commerce between the subjects of both crowns was established. The English residing in Portugal were admitted to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the natives, the duties and customs payable by them were put on the same footing as those exacted of the Portuguese, a consul was to reside at Lisbon to regulate all matters respecting the commerce carried on between the two nations, and the English were to be allowed full toleration in their religion. The same immunities were allowed the Portuguese residing in England.

The Roman catholics in Ireland had lived quietly ever since the quelling of Tyrone's rebellion at the close of queen Elizabeth's reign; but in the beginning of the year 1641, they formed an execrable design of massacring all the English throughout that kingdom, seizing all fortified places, and of entirely shaking off the English yoke. On Saturday the 23d of October, the day dedicated to St. Ignatius Loyala, the founder of the jesuits*, the Roman catholics in general rose, when a dreadful massacre of the protestants ensued, the object being no less than to extirpate the whole race of protestants; in the first three months one hundred and fifty-four thousand persons are said to have been cruelly put to death. This exterminating spirit continued with unrelenting fury until the March following. A

* Ware's *Gesta Hibernorum*.

plan was laid for seizing on the castle of Dublin, as soon as the insurrection took place, but this design was detected before it could be put in execution. This shocking event had a great influence on the English parliament, as well as on the nation at large, and did great injury to the cause of the king, and particularly cast an odium on his queen, whose bigotted attachment to the Romish faith rendered her very obnoxious to the English. The parliament was very backward in sending over succour and supplies to Ireland, being apprehensive that the king aimed at draining England of troops, and to involve the country in a war, in order to divert its attention to the reducing the claims of the crown. From such jealousies, whether well or ill founded, the breach between the king and his parliament grew every day wider. For the effectual suppression of this rebellion, an act was passed for disposing of the rebel lands, to such well-affected protestants as would lend sums of money thereon, the rate of which loan was fixed to be two hundred pounds for one thousand acres of good land in the province of Ulster; the same quantity of acres in Connaught for three hundred pounds; in Munster four hundred and fifty pounds; in Leinster six hundred pounds, all freehold; paying quit-rents in Ulster of one penny every acre; in Connaught three half pence; in Munster two pence farthing; and in Leinster three pence. Encouraged by this offer, a great number of well-affected protestants settled on the lands of slothful and seditious papists.

In this decline of the royal authority, the king ever fluctuating between opposition and compliance, sometimes determined on the former, and soon after making choice of the latter mode of conduct, having taken great offence at the proceedings of the house of commons, went thither in person whilst it was sitting, and accused five of the leading members of high

high treason. These were such as had been for a short time admitted to the royal favour, but whose principles would by no means square with the views of majesty. These were lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode. Such a step was too desperate a one to be recalled. The house, not intimidated by the presence of their sovereign, appeared determined to support their obnoxious members. Their inflexibility shook the resolution of Charles, who was obliged to quit the house without having the power to enforce his indiscreet and precipitate measure. Nothing could make his imbecility more apparent to the eyes of all his subjects than this event, unless it be the transaction which immediately followed it.

The very next morning Charles sent to the lord mayor of London, directing him immediately to call a common council, and soon after he went himself to Guildhall, accompanied by only five or six lords; and addressing himself to the common council, told them, "that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions which were entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to testify his firm reliance on their affection; that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he meant to proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection from the city." When he had finished his speech, he told one of the sheriffs that he intended to dine with him; but notwithstanding the many gracious expressions which he had delivered when he left the hall, he was not saluted with any acclamations, and whilst passing through the streets, instead of shouts of applause, he heard the cry, *privilege of parliament; privilege of parliament*; resounding from all quarters*. Full of chagrin at

* Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 361

the mortifying stroke the king repaired to Hampton court, from whence he sent messages full of condescension to his commons, by which whilst he extremely augmented in his opponents the will, he increased their ability of hurting him. Having first rendered himself hateful, his submission now rendered him contemptible. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of *round-heads*, on account of the short cropt hair which they wore: these called the others *cavaliers*; and thus the nation, which was sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party names, under which the factions might rendezvous and signalize their mutual hatred*.

The commons were by this time sensible, that the sword alone could decide the quarrel between the king and his people. They, therefore, proceeded to displace the governors of such fortified places, as they had reason to suspect of attachment to the cause of royalty. Hull, Portsmouth, and the Tower of London, received governors of their appointment. They secured the navy to their interest, by appointing the earl of Warwick admiral of the fleet under the earl of Northumberland; who kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly. At length it was proposed to raise a militia, the nominating the officers of which the commons laid claim to; the king, on the other hand, insisted on appointing them: the altercation, which this struggle for power produced, broke off all farther treaty, and both sides determined to appeal to the sword.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 464.

In this extremity, the king, with his two sons, the prince of Wales and the duke of York, retired to York. The queen, at the same time, passed over to Holland, with such articles of the regalia as would enable her to raise money, and procure arms and troops. The parliament availed themselves of the general apprehension which was spread over the kingdom of an invasion from Ireland, and an insurrection of the Roman catholics in England, to induce the people to contribute their plate, and other valuables, for the defence of the kingdom. The zeal which was discovered on this occasion was astonishing and unexampled, and was the first instance of benevolences truly voluntary, that had been raised in this kingdom for the public service, although the ruling prince had, in almost all periods of its history, levied contributions under that specious denomination. But though each side was preparing vigorously for war, yet every precaution was taken to throw the blame of the first infraction of the peace by one on the other. The king offered proposals to the commons, which he knew they would not accept; and they in return offered him nineteen propositions, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, as well as of the forts, castles, fleets, and armies, should all be appointed by, or under the controul of parliament. That papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced for former offences should be restored. These proposals were rejected; war, on any terms, was esteemed by the king and his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Collecting, therefore



therefore some forces, he advanced southward, and at Nottingham first erected the royal standard *, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom.

The nation reposed the most entire confidence in the patriotism of their representatives, and paid a ready obedience to the laws promulgated by parliament, though destitute of the sanction of the great seal; whilst the royal standard was resorted to by a comparatively inconsiderable number. Queen Henrietta, however, brought very seasonable supplies from Holland, which, with the contributions from the university of Oxford, several of the nobility, and the clergy, procured an army of near ten thousand men, which was commanded by the earl of Lindefey; and prince Rupert, son of the elector Palatine, was at the head of the horse. The parliament, at the same time, led a yet more numerous army to the field, which was entrusted to the care of the earl of Essex. The head quarters of the latter were near Worcester. The first blood that was shed in this desolating quarrel, was in a skirmish between a body of horse commanded by prince Rupert, and a detachment of cavalry from the army of Essex. The colonel who commanded them being shot on the first onset, the fortune of the day was soon decided in favour of the royalists.

The battle of Edge-hill followed soon after †, which was nothing more than a drawn battle, in which five thousand men are said to have been slain, with the earl of Lindefey, the king's commander in chief. Sir William Balfour, who commanded the body of reserve under lord Essex, saved the parliament army from a defeat; his troops even

* 25th of August, 1642.

† 23d of October, 1642.

took

took the royal standard, which was afterwards recovered.

Charles, after this action, marched to Oxford, which city was strongly attached to the cause of royalty; and though the season was far advanced, the military operations of the campaign were not closed until the king's army had reached Brentford, and menaced the city of London with an attack.

The calamities which England endured at this time, were not confined to the devastations and outrages which the two principal armies committed, and whose influence was limited to the centre of England; each county, each town, nay each private family, was divided within itself, and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. During the succeeding winter, unremitting efforts were every where made by each party, to surmount its antagonist; and the English, roused from the lethargy of peace, with eager, though unskilful hands, employed against their fellow-citizens their long-neglected weapons. On one side, an ardent zeal for liberty and presbyterian discipline prevailed; on the other, an equal attachment to monarchy and episcopacy. Conventions of neutrality had indeed been entered into in several counties, but the parliament voted such neutrality illegal*. The altercation of discourse, the controversies of the pen, but, above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indisposed the minds of men towards each other, and propagated the blind rage of party. Fierce, however, and inflamed, as were the dispositions of the English, by a war both civil and religious, that great destroyer of humanity! All the events of this period, says Mr. Hume, are less distinguished by atrocious deeds either of treachery

* Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 437.

or cruelty, than were ever any intestine discords that had so long a continuance. A circumstance which will be found to reflect great praise on the national character of that people, now so unhappily roused to arms.*.

The next campaign was favourable to the cause of the king, his commanders were generally victorious, and his troops surpassed their opponents in discipline, but they were badly provided with ammunition and military stores. On the side of the parliament the great Hampden was slain in a skirmish, which happened in Chaldgrave field, and the king's party sustained an irreparable loss in the gallant lord Faulkland, who was killed at the battle of Newbury.

Hampden, with the boldness of a well-principled patriot, had nobly opposed the arbitrary demands of the crown in the levying of ship-money, backed as they were by the opinions of the judges. His attachment to his religious principles, as we have seen, led him to resolve upon renouncing his country, where he lived in affluence, and universally respected, and to court the inhospitable wilds of America: his inflexible integrity gained him the esteem even of his enemies, and his humanity and benevolence the affection of all that knew him more intimately †. Lord Faulkland was a nobleman distinguished by his pursuits in literature: possessing a fine genius, and an opulent fortune, all the noble sources of mental enjoyment were opened to him. Called into public life, he stood foremost in all attacks on the high

* History of England, Vol. VI, p. 513. † So baneful is a party-spirit, that lord Clarendon, after bestowing praises on the personal merit of this great man, both as to virtues and talents, concludes with saying: "In a word, what was said of Ciuna, might well be applied to him: *He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief*, his death, therefore, seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation."—*History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III, p. 267.

prero-

prerogatives of the crown; and displayed that masculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity he had greedily imbibed. When civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to chose his side, he tempered the ardour of his zeal, and embraced the defence of those limited powers which then remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he seemed to have dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as of the enemy; and among his intimate friends, often after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a sad accent reiterate the word *peace*. Though he held the office of secretary of state, which exempted him from being exposed to the dangers of the field, yet he was ever forward to expose his person, alledging, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprizes, lest his impatience for peace should draw on him the imputation of timidity. From the commencement of hostilities, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded, and even his usual attention to dress, required by his birth and station, gave way to a negligence which was easily observable. On the morning of the day in which he fell, he had shown some care of adorning his person; and gave for a reason, that the enemy should not find his body in any slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary," subjoined he, "of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe that I shall be out of it ere night*." This excellent person was but thirty-four years of age, when a period was thus put to his life†.—From the opposite

* Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 350. † Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI. p. 334.

parties which these two distinguished characters, Hampden and Faulkland, embraced; a spirit of candour and moderation, in deciding on the conduct of men, may be strongly urged. The reasoning faculties of man are so imperfect, that contrariety of opinion will arise on points of the highest consequence to the happiness of human life, truth comes to us tinged very early by the tints it receives from education, example, and prepossessions, derived from constitution, temper, and even climate; and by those who possess the best disposition to acquire it, it is frequently lost in the labyrinths of disputation concerning it.

This campaign put the royalists into possession of the city of Bristol, which was taken by prince Rupert*. After which, the king laid siege to Gloucester, but in that attempt he was baffled by the determined bravery of the citizens.

It was about this time that two men in the parliament army began to signalize themselves; these were, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, who were with the forces in the north, against which, the marquis of Newcastle commanded the king's troops.

The campaign of 1643 had given the king many decided advantages, which led the parliament to seek to strengthen their hands by an alliance with Scotland. For this purpose they sent commissioners to Edinburgh, who were empowered to adjust the conditions of a close confederacy with the Scottish nation. This produced that solemn league and covenant, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the ex-

* 29th of July, 1643.

tirpation

tirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments; together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants*.

The king, to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford, where it assembled; and England now saw, what it had never before seen, two parliaments sitting at one and the same time. This regal parliament voted the king supplies, which was the only purpose for which it was drawn together; and it had no sooner answered it, than it was prorogued, and never after convened.

The liturgy of the church of England was now abolished, and presbyterianism was established on the subversion of the former hierarchy. An ordinance was issued by the parliament enjoining every person to fast one day in the week, and the money thus saved was exacted in support of the common cause. The parliament, now strengthened by their union with the Scotch, seemed capable of carrying on their designs against the king. These republicans were no sooner ranked under the general name of presbyterians, than they began to separate into new parties; the majority of the house of commons indeed was composed of presbyterians, strictly so called, the rest were independents; a new sect that had lately been introduced, and had gained many adherents. By the different tenets embraced by these two sects the public measures became influenced. The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doc-

* Rushworth, Vol. VI. p. 478.
P. 540.

Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI.

trines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation united voluntarily, and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but such an one as was destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election of the congregation alone was sufficient to confer the sacerdotal character; and all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The presbyterians rejected the authority of prelates and the use of liturgies, retrenched ceremonies, and limited the riches and authority annexed to the sacred office. The independents went much farther; they abolished ecclesiastical government, rejected creeds and systems, together with every ceremony, and levelled the distinctions of rank. Their political system corresponded with their religion. Not content with confining to very narrow limits the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of chief magistrate, which the presbyterians aimed at, this sect sought to abolish monarchy entirely, they would not even allow of an aristocratical form of government, but indulged the illusive idea of an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were avowed enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as they knew it was impossible to be obtained; and they adhered to that maxim which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than

than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion *.

The king, seeing himself opposed by the united parliaments of England and Scotland, was led to make a truce with the rebellious papists of Ireland, that he might re-enforce his army by the English troops then employed in Ireland to quell this turbulent spirit. Whereupon several papists entered into the service of Charles, who drew upon himself thereby, the reproach of employing papists to cut the throats of his protestant subjects. Whilst the king was struggling with success against the superior power of his enemies, in the south and west, his affairs were ruined in the north. The earl of Manchester having taken Lincoln, and united his army to that of the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scots, and to that of lord Fairfax, York was closely besieged by their combined forces; and that city, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was reduced to extremity. The parliamentary generals flattered themselves, that their labours would soon be crowned with this important conquest; but they were suddenly alarmed by the approach of prince Rupert, who, having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had assembled a considerable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's cavalry, hastened with an army of ten thousand men to the relief of York. The Scotch and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and drawing up their forces on Marston-Moor, proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert, having joined the marquis, the latter endeavoured to persuade him, that having so successfully effected his purpose of relieving York, he ought to be satisfied

* Hume's Hist. of Engl. Vol. VI. p. 21.

with

with that advantage : but the prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, pretended positive orders from the king; and without condescending to consult with Newcastle, immediately issued orders for battle, and on the seventh of July drew up his army on Marston-Moor. The prince's army now consisted of fourteen thousand foot, and nine thousand horse; its main body was commanded by the generals, Goring, Porter, and Tellier; the prince headed the right wing, and Sir Charles Lucas, and colonel Hurry the left. The main body of the parliament army, which was, at least, equal to the prince's in number, was commanded by the earl of Manchester, the earl of Leven, and lord Fairfax; the right wing was headed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the left by Oliver Cromwell. The charge was begun with such courage and intrepidity by the left wing of the parliament's army, that prince Rupert, contrary to his usual fortune, was put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, broke through the royalists, and, transported with the ardour of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, who were also engaged in the pursuit of the enemy. After this tempest was past, Lucas, who commanded the royalists in this wing, reducing his broken forces to order, attacked the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into confusion, pushed them upon their own infantry, and routed the remainder of that wing.

But when ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell returning from the pursuit of the other wing of the royalists; and both of them were surprized to find that they must again renew the combat, for that victory which each

each of them imagined they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now changed, and each army possessed the ground which had been occupied by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious with the first : but after both sides had exerted the utmost courage, the victory was obtained by the parliament's forces, the whole train of artillery taken, and the royalists driven out of the field, after four thousand of them were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners ; while the loss on the side of parliament is said to have amounted only to three hundred common soldiers.

The loss of this battle was the most considerable blow which the king had sustained during the whole contest. Rupert, the next day, sent Newcastle word, that he was determined to march away with his army towards the king ; and the marquis returned in answer to this, that he was resolved to retire from his command, and leave the kingdom. These intentions were executed with the same precipitation as they were formed. York being thus abandoned, was obliged to surrender in a few days. The Scots then marching northward, joined ten thousand additional forces, under the command of the earl of Calendar ; and soon after took Newcastle by storm.

On this discomfiture, the king retired to Oxford ; his present danger excited his friends to redoubled efforts ; he levied new forces and had some slight success. But this appearance of good fortune did not continue long ; his army was turbulent and seditious, that of the parliament every day improved in discipline, and obeyed their leaders from principle. Among other instances of the governing views, which actuated the republican leaders, is an act which passed, called *the self-denying ordinance* ; by which

which it was enacted, that no member of the house of commons should have a command in the army. The chief reason for passing this law, was to deprive the parliament of a motive to continue the war, from a view of retaining their commissions in the army. Hereupon the former generals were changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, new-modelled the army without controul.

Soon after these innovations, both armies met at Naseby: the king, who commanded the main body of his own troops, displayed his bravery upon this occasion, encouraging his soldiers when giving way, and rallying them in person when broken. The parliament army notwithstanding was victorious. Wherever Cromwell fought, he brought conquest, and the defeat of the royal army was principally owing to him. All the infantry were scattered, yet the slain on the side of the parliament exceeded those on the side of the king; the one lost one thousand men, the other not more than eight hundred. But the prisoners that were made by Fairfax were prodigious. Five hundred officers and four thousand private men being taken, and all the king's artillery and ammunition were lost, which rendered the victory as complete as possible*. Among the other spoils, the king's private cabinet fell into the hands of the parliament, in which were copies of the confidential letters which he had written to his queen. Some of which were afterwards selected, and published by order of the parliament.

The state of the public navy, in the summer of 1645, appears from an authentic list pub-

* June, 1645.

lished

lished by order of parliament to have been as follows:

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.
1 Ship (vice-admiral Blyth) of	875	280	50
1 Ditto of - - -	600	170	40
1 Ditto (rear-admiral Owen) of	575	170	40
1 Ditto of - - -	557	170	38
1 Ditto of - - -	520	170	38
1 Ditto of - - -	559	160	38
1 Ditto (vice-admiral Batten) of	650	260	36
1 Ditto of - - -	512	160	36
1 Ditto of - - -	500	150	36
	5348	1690	262

The rest consisted of seventeen smaller ships, from four hundred tons, one hundred and ten men, and twenty-eight guns; down to eighty tons, forty-five men, and eight guns. So that there was only one ship which might now, in our times, be admitted into a line of battle.

The Royal Sovereign, built ten years before, and perhaps several other large ships of war, were either still under the king's command, or else were not then thought necessary to be put into commission. There were also six pinks and frigates, of each fifty tons burden, and eighteen merchant-ships, from four hundred and five tons, one hundred and twenty-one men, and twenty-nine guns, down to one hundred and six tons, fifty men, and twelve guns. Probably this was the chief part of the parliament's naval force. At this time arose a great coolness and jealousy between the parliament and the Dutch republic; the Hollanders, through the interest of the prince of Orange, having shewn a great partiality to the cause of the king, which produced a very warm remonstrance from that assembly. It was therefore soon found necessary to increase the marine of England*.

* Collection of Orders, Declarations, &c. of Parliament, printed in 1646.

The battle of Naseby was extremely fatal to the interests of the king, and Fairfax and Cromwell improved their victory to the utmost. They reduced every city that they appeared before, and compelled the young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second, to fly to the Scilly Isles.

The king collected the shattered remains of his forces to Oxford, and made overtures of peace, but without effect. He, therefore, determined to deliver himself up to the Scotch army rather than to the English, expecting to receive more deference and respect from the former than from the latter. On signifying his intention, the Scotch promised to afford him protection, and to treat him with respect. In reliance on which assurance the king left Oxford, and travelling through by-ways and obscure places, arrived at the Scotch army in nine days *. From that moment he lost his liberty. The Scotch army began to negotiate with that of England, and in consideration of being paid the arrears due for their service in England, which amounted to four hundred thousand pounds, they delivered up their king.

The kingly power being thus abolished, the parliament assumed the supreme authority. Though mutual animosities had subsisted between the presbyterians and independents, from the first period of the latter having formed themselves into a distinct party, yet (a few individuals excepted) they had hitherto acted with a seeming cordiality, and with equal vigour, against the common enemy; but now that the power of their arms had gained a complete victory over the royal cause, that hatred which fear had for some time suppressed, shewed itself in a rancour more virulent than either of them had, in the course of the war, manifested against papist or

* 30th of January, 1646.

episcopalian. The self-denying ordinance was, from its first commencement, violated in favour of one or two popular officers, who were of the independent party; and when the intentions of this body were answered, by depriving the presbyterians of the superior posts in the army, they had interest enough to get that statute so entirely laid aside, that in the beginning of the year 1646, within twelve months after the battle of Naseby, on the issuing writs for supplying the places of deceased and disabled members, the officers of the new-modelled army were promiscuously elected with other candidates, and permitted to keep their seats in parliament. Notwithstanding the advantage which the party gained by this notorious breach of a law they had been so instrumental in procuring, yet the presbyterians still maintained their superiority in the lower house. But they were soon to lay it down, and submit to a military democracy, a form of government before unknown.

The commons were now willing to get rid of the army as soon as possible, well knowing that, if the army continued, instead of receiving laws, it would presume to dictate them. They therefore passed a vote, by which it was ordained, that a part of it should be disbanded, and another part of it sent over to Ireland. It may easily be imagined that Cromwell would not suffer this. Now was the crisis of his greatness, and he seized the opportunity; he formed a council of officers, and another of common soldiers, called Agitators, who were appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, and lay them before the parliament. The very same conduct which had formerly passed between the parliament and king, was now put in practice between the army and parliament. As the commons granted every request, the army rose in their

demands; these accused the army of mutiny and sedition, and those retorted the accusation, by alleging a manifest design in the parliament to rule alone.

The king had been confined, since he came into the power of the English; at Holdenby-Castle; the army were resolved to be possessed of his person, and sent one Joyce, a cornet, to take the king by force, and bring him a prisoner to Newmarket. This commission he executed with intrepidity and dispatch. It was in vain that the commons, now without power, complained of this insolence; the army, instead of being awed by their menaces, marched towards London; and now, in turn, prescribed laws to their employers. Cromwell, willing to give all his injustice the appearance of rectitude, caused eleven members of the house of commons to be accused. These were the most powerful and leading speakers, which so astonished the rest, that, willing to appease the army at any rate, they writ to the general, that they were ready to receive any particular charge against such as fell under his displeasure.

The king began to feel of what consequence he was. The more the national confusions encreased, the more was he confident that all parties would, at length, have recourse to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public disorders. *You cannot be without me*, said he, on several occasions: *You cannot settle the nation but by my assistance*. A people without government, and without liberty; a parliament without authority; an army without a legal master; distractions every where; terrors, oppressions, convulsions. From this scene of confusion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their
ancestors

ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity.

Though Charles kept his ears open to all proposals, and expected to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: they had confined his person. In both these particulars the army showed more indulgence*. He had a free intercourse with his friends. And in the proposals which the council of officers sent for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor of the punishment of the royalists; the two points to which the king had the most extreme reluctance: and they demanded, that a period should be put to the present parliament, the event for which he most ardently longed.

A conjunction with the king seemed more natural with the generals, than with that usurping assembly, who had so long assumed the entire sovereignty of the state, and who had declared their resolution still to continue masters. By gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an instant, reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland; to Cromwell the garter, the title of earl of Essex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpose were secretly conducted. Cromwell pretended to hearken to them; and was well pleased to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the king, who had no suspicion that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the

* Warwick, p. 303. Parl. Hist. Vol. XVI. p. 40. Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 501

daring

daring ambition of seizing a sceptre, transmitted through a long line of monarchs, indulged hopes that he would, at last, embrace a measure which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him*.

The king had been removed to Hampton-Court; and when the army, and in it the independent party, had gained an absolute ascendancy over the parliament, Charles began to be apprehensive for his own safety, and to find his flattering expectations vanish. He therefore took a hasty resolution of escaping to the Isle of Wight, with a design to pass over to France, where his queen had been for some time. The governor, colonel Hammond, who was devoted to Cromwell, received him with great professions of respect and duty, but obliged him to repair to Carisbrooke-Castle, where he continued really a prisoner.

In the mean time the parliament continued every day to grow more feeble, and more factious; the army more powerful, and better united. Cromwell had taken every precaution to establish such a subordination among his troops, as was necessary to conduct them with ease, and invigorate his proceedings. But his views were in some danger of being counteracted at this juncture, by a new and unheard-of confederacy. The independents were for having no subordination in government. A set of men, called Levellers, now arose, who declared against any other governor than Christ. They maintained that all degrees should be levelled, and an equality universally established in titles and estates. They presented several petitions, and carried their insolence to an immeasurable pitch. Cromwell at once saw that he was now upon the point of losing

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 109.

all the fruits of his former schemes and dangers, and dreaded this new faction still the more, as they turned his own pretended principles against himself: thus finding all at stake, he was resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the Levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified assembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what their assembly and murmuring meant; and, receiving an insolent answer, he laid two of the ringleaders dead upon the ground with his own hands. The guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot, sent others prisoners to London, and thus destroyed a faction, no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action served still more to encrease his power in the camp, in the parliament, and in the city. Fairfax, now become a lord, was nominally general, but Cromwell was invested with all the power of the army. The king, a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, still continued to negotiate a peace; while the parliament saw no other method of destroying the military power which themselves had raised, but by opposing to it that of the king. Frequent propositions therefore passed between the captive monarch and the commons; but the great obstacle, which was their insisting upon destroying episcopacy, still defeated every measure.

In the mean time the Scotch, ashamed of having been thought to have sold their king, raised an army in his favour. Many of the young nobility in England seconded their intentions; the king's desperate affairs once more began to wear a favourable aspect, which Cromwell perceiving, led his veteran
army

army to certain victory. Success still seemed to back his crimes; he defeated their forces entirely at Preston, and took the duke of Hamilton, their general, prisoner. Fairfax, on the other hand, was equally successful in Kent and Essex; the insurgents having retired into the city of Colchester, which declared for the king, he blocked them up, and compelled them to surrender at discretion.

In the latter end of May, the sailors of a squadron lying in the Downs, revolted against their commander Rainsborough; whom they set ashore, together with some other officers disaffected to the royal cause. Being supplied with provisions by the king's friends in Kent, they steered their Squadron to the Brill, and delivered it to the duke of York, whom the king had appointed high-admiral of England. The prince of Wales, who had retired to Paris, where he resided with his mother, was no sooner informed of this incident, than he repaired to Helvoetsluys, and going on board the fleet, was received with loud acclamations. He sent his brother to the Hague, and set sail for England, in order to join and head the Scottish army, when it should enter that kingdom. Arriving at Yarmouth the inhabitants refused him admittance, whereupon he directed his course to the river Thames, and took several rich vessels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards restored. Meanwhile the earl of Warwick assembled a squadron, with which he sailed in quest of the prince, and anchored his ships so near him in the river, that an engagement was thought inevitable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and had actually weighed, in order to attack the earl; but the wind falling, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his resolution. Warwick was reinforced with some fresh ships, and the royal fleet being

being in want of provisions, young Charles was persuaded to return to Helvoetsluys, whither the parliament fleet followed him *.

The earl of Warwick, immediately on his arrival off the coast of Holland, sent to the States, insisting that they should oblige the ships which had revolted from the parliament of England; and taken refuge in their ports, to put to sea. This demand embarrassed the States, as they were not willing to break with the parliament, neither did they choose to expose the revolted fleet to the resentment of their pursuers: they, at length, determined not to comply with the English admiral's demand, and ordered all their naval force to sea to prevent an engagement between the two squadrons. Warwick, finding that his menaces were not effectual, quitted the Dutch coast, and returned home.

The command of this small squadron, now reduced to fourteen ships, badly manned and equipped, was given to prince Rupert, with which he carried on a pyratival war, and after some time successfully cruising in the channel, he retired into the port of Kinsale †.

The parliament still continued to treat with the king, and apprehending more from the designs of their generals than the attempts of their monarch, seemed in earnest, for the first time, in their negotiations; but it was now too late; the army soon returned crowned with their accustomed success, and with furious remonstrances demanded justice upon the king. They accused him as the cause of all the misfortunes of the kingdom, and insisted that his partizans and favourites should share with him in his public punishment. This remonstrance was soon after backed by petitions from the garrisons

* Clarendon.

† Idem.

dispersed over different parts of the kingdom, and the counties of Somerset and Norfolk concurred in the same demand. Fairfax, being influenced by Cromwell, and not perceiving that he was the tool of his crafty colleague, transferred his royal prisoner from the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Castle. The parliament complained of this arbitrary proceeding, but their remonstrances were now but empty sound. They began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; but they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit next day with his army, and in the mean time ordered them to raise him, upon the city of London, forty thousand pounds. Affrighted at the approaching danger, they complied with his demand; and, in the mean time, the general, with his army, came and took up his quarters in the skirts of the city. The commons still proceeded in the treaty with the king, but this Cromwell was resolved to oppose: they voted, that the carrying the king prisoner to Hurst-Castle, was without the advice or consent of the house. To punish them for this, Cromwell placed guards round their house, and made those members prisoners whom he judged most adverse to his designs. One of his colonels, whose name was Pride, having a paper of names in his hand, seized upon one-and-forty, and sent them to the Court of Wards, where they were kept under guard. The next day an hundred and sixty more of the members were denied entrance; and that part of the house which now remained was entirely composed of a small body of independents, ludicrously called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house, a few days before, were illegal, and that the general's conduct was just and necessary.

The death of the king was now resolved upon. The parliamentary leaders of the independent party, meant

meant that the army should execute that daring enterprize, but its leaders were too circumspect, singly to incur the imputations which such an unprecedented and desperate deed would draw after it. They were resolved that the parliament should cooperate with them in a measure which was deemed necessary for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition. The house of commons therefore appointed a committee to frame a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament; and they appointed a high-commission court to try Charles for such treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers for their concurrence, but it was immediately rejected by that body. The commons thereupon came to a resolution, that as they were the representatives of the people, *who are the origin of all just power*, they are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared to be law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of the king, or the house of peers: upon which the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, was again read, and unanimously assented to*.

The king was hereupon removed from Windsor to St. James's, and brought before the high court at Westminster-Hall to take his trial. Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often he protested against their right of jurisdiction. On the 4th the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence of death against him. Before the passing sentence, Charles

* January 4, 1648-9.

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earnestly

earnestly desired to be admitted to a conference with the two houses : he had something to propose, he said, which he was sure would be for the welfare of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject. It was supposed, that he intended offering to resign his crown to his son ; and some who sat on the trial pressed that he might be heard. This was not the opinion of the majority ; and the commissioners returning from the court of Wards, where they had adjourned to consult on the king's proposal, acquainted their royal prisoner, that his request was considered as a delay of justice.

This unexampled proceeding against a crowned head, awakened in each sovereign prince in Europe, a sense of horror and indignation. The French court was now sincere in their interposition in behalf of the king, and the Dutch employed very earnest intercessions for the preservation of his life ; but all in vain. The Scots ineffectually exclaimed and protested : the prince of Wales wrote a letter to the army, and the queen one to the parliament : no more than three days were allowed between the king's sentence and his execution ; this interval he passed in reading and devotion ; and throughout that trying season, he preserved a wonderful tranquillity and composure.

When the day for execution arrived, Charles was conducted on foot through St. James's Park to Whitehall, accompanied by Juxton, bishop of London, and guarded by a regiment of foot under the command of colonel Tomlinson. The street before Whitehall was pitched on as the place to exhibit this solemn scene ; this spot was chosen, because being in sight of his own palace, the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty, was thereby more strikingly displayed *. Soldiers were placed round

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 143.

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the scaffold, and an infinite concourse of spectators waited, with silent horror, at a greater distance. The king surveyed all the apparatus of death with calm composure: he assured the persons that stood with him on the scaffold, that his heart absolved him of every crime but that of having given up the earl of Strafford to the fury of his enemies, and that he had confidence in the mercy of heaven. While he thus maintained his integrity, the bishop observed to him, that he had but one stage more to heaven; to which the king returned: "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." Then laying his head upon the block, the executioner, whose face was concealed in a vizor, severed it, with one stroke, from the body: an assistant, in the like disguise, held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood; and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor."

Thus, by a fate unparalleled in the annals of princes, fell Charles Stuart, on the 30th of January, 1648-9, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign; a prince whose principles, conduct, fortune, and death, by powerfully working on opposite affections, according to their different views and interests, have given rise to a bitter and irreconcilable contest. He was represented by a considerable party, as a martyr to the church; as the patron of the clergy, and the support of the nobility; and these have adorned him with every flower of panegyric. The bigots of a different persuasion have exulted in his fate, and held his memory in the highest detestation.

Charles lived to see the laws and constitution of his country expire before him. He had the misfortune to be bred up in high notions of the prerogative, which he thought it incumbent on him to maintain; but though this consideration may serve to exte-
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quate his misconduct, it cannot excuse the numerous acts of oppression and injustice, which he committed during the first fifteen years of his reign. He lived at a time when the extension of the royal prerogative was repugnant to the genius of the people, and governing by old rules, instead of endeavouring to accommodate himself to the changes of the times, he fell in the universal convulsion. Many kings before him expired by treasons, plots, or assassinations, but never since the times of Agis, the Lacedæmonian, was any but he sacrificed by their subjects, with all the formalities of justice. Upon the whole it must be confessed, that though the nation was branded by foreigners with reproach upon this occasion, yet these struggles at length ended in domestic happiness and security: the laws became more precise, and the subjects more ready to obey, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary to its subsequent refinement * †.

Immediately on this memorable event the dissolution of monarchy took place in England. When the peers met they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons for their concurrence; but of these the latter would not deign to take any notice. In a few days the lower house passed a vote, that they would make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and therefore abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend,

* Goldsmith.

† The king's surviving issue were, three sons and three daughters; Charles, prince of Wales, born in 1630; James, duke of York, in 1633; Henry, duke of Gloucester, in 1641; Mary, princess of Orange, in 1631; Elizabeth in 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards duchess of Orleans, in 1644.

On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored 1648. The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. The court of King's Bench was called the court of Public Bench; and it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales *. The king's statue in the Royal Exchange was thrown down, and on the pedestal these words were inscribed. EXIT TYRAN-
NUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The Tyrant is gone, the last of the Kings.*

One of the evils which had arisen from these long internal conflicts, was the introduction of excise into England. In the year 1642 the lords and commons in parliament laid a tax on beer and ale in all counties within the limits of their power, calling it by a new word, *Excise*. And the king's parliament, when sitting at Oxford, imposed the like taxes on all within their power. The zeal of the city of London for the parliament was so great, as according to Rushworth †, to agree to a weekly payment of ten thousand pounds, exclusive of Westminster and the other suburbs, which likewise serves to prove the opulence of that great commercial body. But it is not to be supposed that this assessment was levied for any length of time; but merely to provide for a pressing emergency. Indeed, the large sums raised by the parliament during the six years war which they maintained against their king, proves the wealth of the nation; for from the year 1641 to the year 1647, upwards of forty millions sterling was raised, or about six millions six hundred

* So cautious on this head were some of the republicans, that it is pretended, in reciting the Lord's Prayer, they would not say *thy kingdom come*, but always *thy commonwealth come*. † Vol. III. p. 2.

and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence yearly*. This enormous sum is exclusive of what the king raised in the counties where his interest prevailed.

The only kind of Bank, or repository for merchants, where they might safely lodge their cash, used to be the royal mint in the Tower of London; but when Charles had excited the resentment of his parliament by his numerous acts of despotism, and thereby found himself deprived of the constitutional means of supplying his necessities, he had recourse to other methods, both arbitrary and oppressive, to compass his ends: one of which was a forcible seizure of two hundred thousand pounds, which was lodged by the merchants in the king's mint†. This money indeed was afterwards repaid, the king assigning to the lenders the revenue of the customs for their security‡: yet such a compulsive measure frightened the monied-men of the city from depositing their cash in the mint for the future. From this time the merchants and traders of London, generally kept their cash at home, until the breaking out of the civil war, when it frequently happened that their apprentices and clerks would leave their homes, and go into the army, often taking with them what sums they could find belonging to their masters. In such unsettled times therefore merchants, not daring any longer to confide in their apprentices, began first, about the year 1645, to lodge their running cash in the hands of goldsmiths, for them both to receive and pay. Until this time, the sole business of London goldsmiths, was to buy and sell plate, and foreign coins of gold and silver; to separate and melt them; to

* Royal Treasury of England, p. 297, published in 1725. † An.
Dom. 1638. ‡ Sir William Temple.

re-coin some at the Mint, and supply the refiners, plate-makers, and merchants, with the rest, as they found the price to vary. This new banking business soon grew very considerable. At length, as an endowment for people to bring them in their cash, these goldsmiths paid at the rate of four-pence a day per cent. for the money lodged in their hands, which brought them such an accumulated capital, as enabled them to lend out great sums of money on personal security, for the exigences of trade. They likewise began to discount bills of exchange. By such traffic some grew to be so opulent, that during the time of the commonwealth, the principal goldsmiths were enabled to supply Cromwell with money on the security of the revenue. After the restoration, the necessity of Charles II. enabled this body of men to exact from that dissipated prince, ten per cent. interest for the money they advanced to him, and frequently a larger sum. "This great gain," says a very curious pamphlet published in that reign, "induced the goldsmiths more and more to become lenders to the king; to anticipate all the revenue; to take every grant of parliament into pawn as soon as it was made; so that, in effect, all the revenue passed through their hands." *

By the famous treaty of Munster in 1648, the court of Spain concluded a solid and lasting peace with the states-general of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands; thereby renouncing all claims and pretensions on those provinces. This treaty adjusted the security of the trade and navigation both to the East and West-Indies.

By an account published in 1642 by order of parliament, the several naval charges and equip-

* The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths, or Bankers, discovered, printed in 1676, but supposed never to have been published.

ments of the years 1640—41 and 42, are extracted, which shews the degree of our naval strength, as well as the stated expences attending that national defence.

	£.	s.	d.
1 The charge of ten of the king's ships, and 10 merchant-ships, employed on the Narrow Seas 1641	57,592	4	6
2 Ordinary of the navy for the year 1640	27,610	3	9
3 Ditto for the year 1641	27,122	3	4
4 Ditto for the year 1642	21,056	11	6
5 Charge for the victualler of the navy, for the ordinary expence of the year 1642	7,655	17	2
6 The emptions of the office of ordnance, for the years 1641 and 1642 together	5,443	12	0
7 Charge of setting forth 15 of his majesty's ships for the Narrow Seas, anno 1642, for 8 months, to the treasurer of the navy	48,368	10	0
8 Ditto for 24 merchantmen, for the same year and time	81,758	8	0
9 For victualling the 15 king's ships above named for that time	27,359	16	6
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	£.	303,967	7 4

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS of Sir WILLIAM MONSON, *Knt.*

THE distinguished figure which Sir William Monson makes, both as a naval officer, and a writer on maritime affairs, renders it necessary for us to give some private memoirs of him in this place, which are chiefly collected from Dr. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Collins's *Peerage*, and Sir William's own writings.

The family of this great man is traced as high as the reign of Edward the Third. Sir William was born in Lincolnshire, and was the second surviving son of John Monson, Esq; by Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Hufley. He was born about the year 1569, and devoted himself very early to the sea-service; and in the beginning of the Spanish war was only a common sailor, in which capacity his wages were no more than ten shillings a month. From this station he gradually advanced until he attained the great commands he afterwards bore. He made his first voyage at the age of sixteen, his great relish for a seafaring life leading him to enter into it, without the knowledge of either of his parents; and as he himself says, he therein saw the sharpest service which he met with through his whole life. He was then on board a small privateer, which sailed from the Isle of Wight, in consort with another. They fell in with a Spanish ship of three hundred tons, well manned. Notwithstanding their disproportionate strength, the crews of the two privateers resolved to board her, which they accomplished towards the evening; but the wind growing high, and the night being dark, their vessels could not keep their stations along-side of the enemy. The English sailors who had

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boarded,

boarded her, however, maintained the attack with great spirit during the whole night, and in the morning the Spaniards were forced to yield. Two years after he got the command of a small ship, and was in constant employ during the long and active reign of queen Elizabeth.

In the year 1589 he served as vice-admiral on board the earl of Cumberland's fleet, and greatly distinguished himself. In 1591 he was again under the command of the same nobleman; and in an action with the Spaniards he was made prisoner; in which situation he continued for two years; but he had no sooner regained his liberty, than he again took a command under the earl. In the expedition under the earl of Essex on the Spanish coast, in 1596, when Cadiz was sacked and taken, he commanded the *Repulse*, the admiral's own ship; for his valour in which service he was knighted. The next year he was likewise in commission under Essex, in order to intercept the Spanish flota. The advice which he gave on that voyage, Essex was too arrogant to adopt; in consequence of which the Spanish galleons escaped; but had it been followed, they would most probably have been all intercepted and taken. Sir William Monson was afterwards employed in several stations; and in the year 1602, in conjunction with Sir Richard Levison, had the principal command of a royal fleet to annoy the coasts of Spain. This service they performed so effectually, that for some time no vessels dared to go in or out of the Spanish harbours, so that their trade was entirely at a stand; but their chief glory was before the harbour of Cezimbra, a small city in Portugal, where they took a large carrack of sixteen hundred tons, though laying under the protection of the castle*.

* See Vol. I. p. 481.

These services recommended admiral Monson to the favour of king James. It does not however appear, that Sir William, throughout the course of that reign, received any extraordinary marks of esteem. From the beginning of the year 1604 to the year 1616, he had the charge of the Narrow Seas entrusted to him, in which employment he performed signal service, by supporting the honour of the English flag, against the encroachments of the Dutch and French; he likewise made a voyage round Great-Britain and Ireland, to scour the seas of pyrates. In 1617 he was called to give his advice before the lords of the council, how the pyrates of Algiers might be suppressed, and the town attempted.

After so many and great services rendered to the crown, and so many years spent in his country's service, Sir William found that all he had done, and all he had advised, was not sufficient to screen him from party resentment. The integrity of his nature would not permit him silently to observe the impositions and grievances which the seamen suffered, and which were practised in the higher departments of the navy. Through his interposition the king issued a commission of enquiry into these abuses, in consequence of which many mal-practices were detected, and much money was yearly saved in the national expenditure; but hereby Sir William raised against him many powerful and inveterate enemies. At the same time the lady Arabella Stuart, whose nearness of kin to the reigning prince enabled her to lay claim to the crown, having escaped from the confinement in which she was on that account held, Sir William Monson was directed to prevent, if possible, her passing over either into France or Flanders. In this business he was so vigilant, that he re-took that unfortunate lady

lady in a bark, which was making for Calais, and had actually arrived within four miles of the harbour. As she was much esteemed and pitied by the people, this transaction was so represented, as to reflect very severe, but unjust reproaches, on the conduct of the naval officer. The Dutch too were not wanting in their endeavours to injure a man, who had reduced the consequence to which that republic now aspired. Through the intrigues of his enemies he was, on very slight pretences, committed a close prisoner to the Tower; but after he had been examined by the chief justice Coke, and secretary Winwood, he was discharged; after which he wrote a full vindication of his conduct whilst admiral on the Narrow Seas.

On the accession of Charles he stood well with that prince, and his advice was asked in all maritime affairs; but the conduct of the duke of Buckingham in the naval department was not agreeable to this veteran seaman, and he had too much frankness to conceal his sentiments; for which he remained unemployed. After the death of Buckingham, when the king began to see the importance of maintaining those privileges which his ancestors had enjoyed in the seas which surround these kingdoms, Sir William Monson, then sixty-six years of age, was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet commanded by the earl of Lindsey, which effectually vindicated the king's honour, and the rights of the nation. From that time he spent the remainder of his days in privacy and peace. He lived to see the breaking out of the civil war, having preserved, through his long life, an untainted reputation for conduct and bravery, and died in February 1642, aged seventy-three years. The two last years of his life he employed in writing and digesting his tracts of naval affairs, which are published in Churchill's

Churchill's Collection of Voyages, printed in 1703; and a third separate edition of them was printed in 1745. They testify his thorough knowledge, in marine affairs, and the strength of his parts, even at the most advanced period of his life.

He dedicates this work to Sir William Monson, his eldest surviving son; and the excellent advice he gives him, is likewise a good instance of his abilities, and virtuous inclination; and the small estate he declares he leaves him, after so many toils and dangers, plainly shews the honesty of his life. After commending his works to him, he says, "That so beholding the eighteen years war by sea, which, for want of years, you could not then remember, and comparing them with the eighteen years of peace, in which you have lived, you may consider three things. First, that after so many pains and perils, God has lent life to your father to further your education. Secondly, what proportion his recompence and rewards have had to his services. Lastly, what just cause you have to abandon the thoughts of such dangerous and uncertain courses; and that you may follow the ensuing precepts, which I recommend to your frequent perusal." He then mentions the small estate he leaves him, after so many toils and dangers of his life, and reminds him to rate his expence accordingly. After which, challenging his right to dispose of his interest in it, he thus concludes: "And because you shall know that it is no rare or new thing for a man to dispose of his own, I will lay before you a precedent of your own house, that so often as you think of it, you may remember it with fear, and prevent it with care. Your grandfather's great-grandfather was a knight by title, and John by name; which name we desire to retain to our eldest sons. God blessed him with earthly benefits, as
wealth;

wealth, children, and reputation. His eldest son was called John, after his father, and his second William, like unto yourself: but, upon what displeasure I know not, (though we must judge the son gave the occasion) his father left him the least part of his fortune, yet sufficient to equal the best gentleman of the shire; and particularly the ancient house called after his name. His other son, William, he invested with what your uncle now enjoys. Both the sons, whilst they lived, carried the port and estimation of their father's children; though afterwards it fell out, that the son of John, and nephew to William, became disobedient, negligent, and prodigal, and spent all his patrimony; so that, in conclusion, he and his son extinguished their house, and there now remains no memory of them. As for the second line and race, of whom your uncle and I descended, we live, as you see, though our estates be not great, and of the two, mine much the least; which, notwithstanding, is the greater to me, in respect I achieved it with the peril and danger of my life; and you will make my satisfaction in the enjoyment of it the greater, if it be attended with that comfort I hope to receive from you."

After which he gives him excellent instructions and advice how to behave in all parts of life, and concludes with these words:

"Let me, good son, be your pattern of patience; for you can witness with me, that the disgraces I have unjustly suffered (my estate being through my misfortunes ruined, my health by imprisonments decayed, and my services undervalued and unrecompenced) have not bred the least distaste or discontent in me, or altered my resolution from my infancy: that is, I was never so base as to insinuate into any man's favour, who was favoured by the

the times ; I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave employment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and only comfort is, that I served my princes both faithfully and fortunately ; but, seeing my services have been no better accepted, I can as well content myself in being a spectator, as if I were an actor in the world."

The first book of his tracts is chiefly a collection of every year's actions in the wars against Spain, on our own and the Spanish coasts, and in the West-Indies. A brief narrative ; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enterprize ; yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others ; and what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son ; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shews the ill management of a design against Algier, and makes very judicious remarks on the attempt upon Caliz, by king Charles the First ; proposing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered, with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas. The third book only treats of the admiralty ; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea ; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel, and part of it ; with instructions for all officers ; the size of all sorts of guns, all sorts of allowances on board the king's ships,

VOL. II.

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and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many more curious matters, accurately handled. The fourth book is of another nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and conquests in Africa, Asia, and America, with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes, for managing affairs at sea, to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth and last treats of fishing, to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England, with all instructions necessary for putting such a design in execution.

From Sir Thomas Monson, the elder brother of Sir William, who was born in 1566, and died in 1641, are lineally descended the two noble families of Monson and Sondes.



C H A P. III.

The Naval History of Great-Britain, during the Time of the Commonwealth—First general Act of Navigation—Rise of Admiral Blake—Sir George Ayscue reduces the English Colonies in America under Obedience to the Commonwealth—First War with the Dutch—Engagements between Blake and Van Tromp—Blake attacks and seizes a Squadron of French Ships—Sir George Ayscue engages De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral—Cromwell chosen Protector—Monk defeats Van Tromp in an Engagement of two Days continuance—Blake's Successes in the Mediterranean—Spanish Galleons taken and destroyed—A Spanish Fleet burnt in the Harbour of Santa Cruz—Jamaica taken—The Jews admitted to settle in England—English East-India Trade laid open—The Sugar-Cane first cultivated in Barbadoes—Death of Cromwell—Restoration of Charles the Second.

CROMWELL, who had by his secret intrigues been the chief instrument in compassing the king's death, well knew how to avail himself of that complication of disorders which had seized the body-politic, and were produced by a civil and a religious fervour, more epidemical and raging than any other age or country ever experienced. His views expanded with success, and those principles of liberty with which he sat out, were swallowed up in the unbounded prospect of power which now opened to his view. His weight and influence gave stability to the unsettled humours of the times; he seems indeed to have been made for the age in which he lived, and for that alone.

The parliament, now reduced to a small number of sitting members, named a council of state, which was composed of thirty-eight members; who were to receive all addresses presented by the people, were empowered to issue orders to all generals and admirals, and were entrusted with the executive powers of government. Foreign states were not disposed to give this new commonwealth any disturbance; being engaged in wars among themselves, they found no leisure to interpose in the internal dissensions of Great-Britain: the young prince Charles was a fugitive at the time that his father suffered, without either friends or resources. Scotland indeed was equally disinclined to republican principles of government, and to the religious tenets of the independents. The execution therefore of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy in the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor Charles II. but bound him to certain singular restrictions, such as, making his good behaviour, and strict observance of the solemn league and covenant, the condition on which they swore allegiance. They likewise bound him to entertain no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to the same cause. Ireland, ever since the insurrection of the Roman catholics, had been witness to confusions and miseries yet greater than those which prevailed in England. To settle the distracted affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell was appointed lord-lieutenant, and passing over there, his arms were crowned with rapid success; but upon Charles arriving in Scotland, and being there proclaimed king, Cromwell passed into that kingdom with his army, and soon after obtained a decisive victory near Dunbar. This eminent success did not however prevent Charles from penetrating into England, with an army of fourteen thousand

thousand men. Cromwell, who little expected such a manœuvre, marched in pursuit of the royalists, whom he attacked and routed at Worcester.

Imagination can scarce conceive dangers more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from Worcester. After his hair was cut off, the better to effect his escape, he worked for some days, disguised as a peasant, at wood-cutting. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrell, a poor but faithful companion in his distress. But in this attempt he was disappointed, every pass being guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they concealed themselves all day, while the soldiers of the enemy passed immediately under them in pursuit of the king. From thence he proceeded with imminent danger, feeling all the vicissitudes of hunger, fatigue, and pain, to the house of one Mr. Lane, an inflexible adherent to the royal cause, in Staffordshire. Here he deliberated about the means of escaping to France. They agreed that he should ride before this gentleman's daughter, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of Bristol. During this journey he every day met people whose persons he knew, and once passed through a whole regiment of the parliament army.

The king next repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, where he was cordially received, that gentleman's family having ever been noted for loyalty. Pursuing his route to the sea-side, he once more had a narrow escape from the little inn at which he lodged. It happened to be a solemn fast, and

and a fanatical weaver, who had fought in the parliament army, was preaching against the king, in a chapel fronting the house. Charles was actually one of the audience. A farrier of the same principles, who had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, came to assure the preacher, that he knew by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the stranger's horses came from the north. The weaver instantly affirmed, that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and went immediately with a constable to the house; but the king, in the mean time, found means to escape. At length, after inexpressible hardships, and having experienced the fidelity of forty different persons of all ranks, who had power to betray him, he embarked at Shoreham, in Suffex, and landed safely in Normandy.

The king's party being now totally suppressed, Cromwell entered London in triumph. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, as well as the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms, as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served to enforce implicit subjection to established authority on all parties, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The military genius of the people, had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy, and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity for men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to advance themselves, by their
courage,

courage, to commands, which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them*.

Blake, a man of undaunted courage, and great generosity, had defended Lyme and Taunton against the king with an inflexible spirit: this man was now created an admiral, although his experience was entirely confined to the land-service, and even in that he had not entered until he was almost fifty years of age. Notwithstanding these apparently insurmountable disadvantages, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. He took the command of a fleet which was destined to go in search of prince Rupert, who still held the command of that squadron which had deserted to the king. The prince had taken refuge in the harbour of Kinsale, but thinking himself insecure there, made the best of his way to the coast of Portugal. Blake hung close upon his rear, and chased him into the Tagus, where, although within sight of Lisbon, he was preparing to attack him; but the remonstrances of his Portuguese majesty at length prevailed on him to desist. Prince Rupert at length escaped, through the assistance given him by the king, who however was made to suffer severely for this instance of partiality; for the English admiral, as a retaliation, made prize of twenty Portuguese vessels richly laden, and threatened yet farther vengeance. John IV. dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, and sensible of the inequality of the contest in which he was engaged, made humiliating concessions to avert the danger that threatened him, whereupon he was admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 204.

Prince

Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squadron on the coast of Spain, directed his course to the West-Indies; and there his brother, prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a hurricane. With the few ships that remained of his squadron, he committed depredations on the commerce of Spain, as well as on that of the republic; and at length he returned to France, where he sold his prizes, together with the ships that remained of his fleet.

Of all the infant settlements in America, New-England alone, which was inhabited entirely by puritans, acknowledged the authority of the commonwealth. Sir George Ayscue was therefore sent with a fleet to reduce all such as adhered to the exiled sovereign. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were soon subdued; Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby, of Parham, made some resistance, but was soon obliged to submit. With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from those islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce.

The parliament shewed their attention to the commercial interests of their country, by passing two very beneficial acts; by the one they reduced the legal interest of money from eight to six per cent. by the other they prohibited all merchandize being imported into England, either from Asia, Africa, or America, (including our own plantations) in any but English built ships, and belonging either to English, or English-plantation subjects; also navigated by an English commander, and having three-fourths of the sailors natives of Great-Britain: excepting only such merchandize as should be imported directly from the place of its growth, or manufacture, in Europe solely. Likewise all fish
was,

was prohibited being imported into England or Ireland, nor exported from thence to foreign parts, or even from one of our own home-parts to another, except such as was caught by English fishermen. This first general navigation-act was particularly calculated to check the progress of the Dutch trade, who, at that time, were the sole carriers of merchandize from one country of Europe to another; but hereby the greatest part of their imports into England was cut off. Until this law was enacted, all nations in amity with England were at liberty to import what commodities they pleased, and in any shipping; but no sooner was this restriction laid, than the English searched the Dutch ships, and frequently made prize of them: hereupon the States-general sent over four ambassadors to England, to represent their grievances to the Rump-parliament, and to Cromwell, who, in their turn, made five several demands on the State, viz. (1.) The arrears of the tribute due for their fishing on the British coasts. (2.) The restoration of the Spice-Islands to England. (3.) For bringing to justice such as were still alive, who committed the cruelties at Amboyna and Banda. (4.) Satisfaction for the murder of their envoy Dorislaus, who had been killed by some Scots officers at the Hague. (5.) Reparation for the damages which England had sustained from the Dutch in Russia, Greenland, &c. amounting to the capital sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. This navigation-act therefore greatly contributed to bring on the fierce naval war which broke out in the year 1652. These five demands were made with so much peremptoriness, as convinced the States that it was time to prepare for a war with England*. They equipped a fleet of one

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 26.

hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the new republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men in both commonwealths were every day more irritated against each other; and the English parliament, most probably, thought a foreign war an effectual expedient for uniting the contending factions at home.

The first blood that was drawn in this quarrel was occasioned by commodore Young firing upon a Dutch man of war who refused him the honour of the flag*. The commander acted with great caution, and gave the other every opportunity of avoiding a dispute. But the Dutch captain, having positive orders from the States not to pay the honour which the English exacted from their ships in the Channel, peremptorily refused to comply: the English commodore hereupon fired on the Dutchman, when a sharp engagement began, in which the Hollanders were so roughly handled, as to be obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchant-men, none of whom interposed; and after the Dutch ships had lowered their flags, the commodore retired without making any prizes†.

Admiral Blake, on his return from his expedition against prince Rupert's fleet, received the thanks of parliament for his gallant services, and was appointed, in conjunction with Dean and Popham, to the chief command at sea.

Martin Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, having had the command of that fleet which

* 14th of May, 1652.
Vol. II. p. 162.

† Campbell's Lives of the Admirals,

gained

gained the memorable victory over the Spaniards in the year 1639 *, was now appointed by the States of Holland, to the command of a fleet of forty sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the English privateers. He was forced, by stress of weather, as he alledged, to take shelter in the Downs. On the 18th of May, 1652, this fleet fell in with a small squadron, under the command of major Bourne, whom Van Tromp informed, that stress of weather had driven him into those parts. The English officer bluntly answered, that the shortness of his stay would best prove the truth of those pretensions; and immediately acquainted his admiral, Blake, who lay off Dover, with the transaction. The next day Van Tromp bore down with this fleet upon Blake, whose force consisted of fifteen ships. On their approach without paying the honour of the flag to the English, Blake ordered several cannon, without shot, to be fired; Tromp paid no regard to these warnings, and Blake no sooner fired a ball at him, than he returned a whole broadside. The engagement immediately began with great fury. At the first onset the English admiral's ship sustained almost the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, but the rest of his fleet gradually coming into the action, supported their admiral with great bravery. The engagement continued very sharply from four in the afternoon till nine at night; and, before the close of it commodore Bourne came in with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away towards the Goodwin Sands, after having lost two ships, one of which was taken, and the other sunk. The victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch

* See page 86.

ships taken, and one disabled ; whereas the English lost no ship, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers was very great.

On the news of this action arriving in Holland, the States were thrown into a violent consternation, and immediately dispatched pensionary de Paauw, as their ambassador extraordinary to the commonwealth of England, and ordered him to lay before the council the narrative which Tromp had sent of the rencounter. They entreated the English, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and point out the aggressor. They disclaimed giving Tromp any orders which could authorize him to attack the English, and denounced severe punishment upon him, if he was found to have behaved in a manner which the States so much discountenanced ; but the demands of the parliament were too high to be brought to square with any concessions which the Dutch might have been willing to make, so that the negotiation soon broke off, and war was declared in Holland on the 8th of July following.

The parliament indeed had never lost a day in treaty. In order to enforce their act of navigation, and, by way of reprisal for the insults and injuries they had received from the republic of Holland, Blake was very active in the Channel, in picking up their merchantmen. Eleven ships, bound from Nantes, fell into his hands a fortnight after the action with Van Tromp. About the same time, the captains Taylor and Peacock, in two English frigates, engaged two Dutch men of war on the coast of Flanders, who refused to lower their flag ; one of these was taken, and the other stranded : a few days after

after Blake took twenty-six merchant-ships, homeward bound from France. So that in the month of July, this indefatigable commander sent forty rich prizes into the river Thames, which did incredible mischief to the Dutch trade.

Sir George Ayscue being now returned from the West-Indies, the command in the Channel was entrusted to him, whilst Blake sailed northwards to annoy the Dutch in their herring-fishery; and by striking a decisive stroke at that staple branch of their commerce, to convince them of their folly in disputing the sovereignty of the British seas with the English. Early in July he arrived in those parts, where he found a great number of Dutch fishing-vessels, under the protection of twelve men of war. This convoy was immediately attacked; they fought bravely for some time, but were at length obliged to surrender, only one escaping, who chose to secure his safety by an early flight. True valour is ever generous to a prostrate foe; the fishing-busses being now left defenceless, Blake neither sunk nor took them, but permitted them to complete their loadings, on paying the tax of the tenth herring, which king Charles had imposed some years before: such only as refused to comply with these equitable conditions, were either sunk or driven ashore. The Dutch themselves were grateful for this signal act of moderation, and we do not find that the English parliament disapproved it.

In the mean time vice-admiral Ayscue was not idle on his station; he fell in with a fleet of ships bound from St. Ubes, or Setubal, a sea-port of Portugal, consisting of forty sail, and either took, burnt, stranded, or plundered, near thirty of them, on the coast of France.

While Blake was triumphing in the north, Van Tromp, with a fleet of seventy men of war, appeared

peared at the mouth of the Thames, with a design to cut off the squadron under Ayscue, or to make a descent on the coast; but he was frustrated in both these views. Hereupon he sailed northward to intercept Blake, but his ships being dispersed by a storm, he was disappointed in that object likewise, and returned into port without effecting any thing, and with the loss of five frigates, which being separated in the storm from the rest of the fleet, were taken by Blake on his return home*.

This miscarriage of the grand fleet spread discontent among the Dutch, and popular clamour ran so high against Van Tromp, that he was induced to throw up his commission. De Ruyter succeeding him in the command, immediately put to sea; and on the 16th of August came up with Sir George Ayscue's fleet off Plymouth. The fight began about four o'clock in the afternoon. The English admiral, with nine other ships, charged through the Dutch fleet, and having thereby gained the weather-gage, turned upon them with great bravery. Night parted the combatants when the battle had become desperate. The next morning Ruyter made the best of his way for his own coast, his fleet having been very roughly handled, inso-much that some of his best ships were scarce able to keep afloat. The force of the two fleets was not greatly disproportionate in ships of war, but the Dutch admiral strengthened himself by bringing twenty of the merchant-ships, which he convoyed, into the line of battle. On the side of the English, the whole weight of the action rested on ten ships, the rest of the fleet not properly supporting their admiral; the rear-admiral Peck lost his leg, of which wound he soon after died; most of the cap-

* Clarendon. Heath's Chronicle.

tains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ship was lost. The English admiral followed the Dutch fleet for some time the next day, and then returned into Plymouth Sound to refresh his men, and refit his ships*.

The war was not long confined to the coasts of Britain; in the Mediterranean the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven men of war, met and attacked commodore Badily, who with three men of war and a fire-ship, was convoying some homeward-bound merchantment from the Levant. The first day's fight began in the afternoon, off the Island of Elba, near the coast of Tuscany, and continued till night, with little advantage to either party. In the night the English merchant-ships left the men of war, and set all their sails for the harbour of Porto-Longone, in the Isle of Elba. The next morning the battle was renewed with great fury. Van Galen began a close engagement with the English commodore, but being disabled in his rigging, and having received three shot between wind and water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced to desist; another of the enemy's largest ships renewing the attack, had her main-mast shot away, and was boarded by the *Phoenix* frigate: a dreadful carnage ensued, but the bravery of the English was not sufficient to support their temerity; most of the seamen were either killed or wounded, and at length the ship was taken. In the mean time the commodore's ship was attacked, and boarded by two Dutch ships at the same time; but far from sinking under this unequal conflict, he continued to defend himself with such firmness, that the Dutch historians themselves confess, that their ships were both beaten off, with the loss of their captains,

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

and

and a dreadful slaughter of their men. The English commander contenting himself with the glory of this achievement, having lost a great number of his men, followed the merchant-ships into port, leaving the Hollanders the empty boast of a ruinous victory. Soon after, the Dutch ships repaired to the same harbour, to recover from the shattered condition to which they were reduced. Whilst in this neutral port, the animosity between the crews of the two squadrons was laid aside, and no insults were offered by either so long as they remained on shore *.

At the same time commodore Appleton, with another squadron of English ships †, was lying in the road of Leghorn, where some of the Dutch ships had repaired after the action with Badily, and had brought in their prize, the Phoenix frigate, the command of which had been given to captain Van Tromp, whose ship had been quite disabled in that desperate fight. Whilst in this situation, a design was formed by an Englishman, named Cox, who had formerly been lieutenant on board the Phoenix, to seize her in the harbour, and carry her off. This was attempted on the night of the 26th of November, with such secrecy, that no alarm was given to the Dutch on board, until they found themselves incapable of making any resistance. The grand duke of Tuscany very justly considered this seizure of a frigate in his harbour, as a breach of that neutrality which he was bound to maintain, whilst the

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 546.

			Guns.	Men.
† The Leopard	—	—	52	180
Bonaventure	—	—	44	150
Sampson	—	—	36	90
Levant Merchant	—	—	28	60
Pilgrim	—	—	30	70
Mary	—	—	30	70
			220	620

ships

ships of the two republics remained there; he therefore insisted that the English should either restore her, or quit the port. To venture out to sea, whilst Van Galen, with sixteen men of war, a fire-ship, and several stout merchantmen, was cruising to intercept them, was a desperate step; but as there was no other alternative but that of giving up the frigate, the former was chosen; for though it was the most dangerous, it was the most honourable.

No sooner was this resolution formed, than commodore Badily, who still lay at Elba with his small force, was apprized of it; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that Badily should appear before Leghorn, and by engaging the Dutch fleet in a chase of him, give Appleton's Squadron an opportunity of putting to sea. This stratagem was put in execution, and produced the consequences which might have been foreseen; for Van Galen dispatched a part of his fleet after Badily, whilst, with his chief force, he waited to attack Appleton as soon as he should be out at sea. Nine Dutch men of war were now opposed to six English, which odds were increased by a random shot from Van Galen's ship setting fire to the Bonaventure of forty-four guns, and blowing it up; at the same time a shot from that ship broke the Dutch admiral's leg; of which wound he died three weeks after, at Leghorn. The English commodore was then attacked by two of the Hollanders at the same time, against whom he maintained a close fight for five hours, with such bravery and success, as almost to silence the two ships. Van Galen observing the undaunted spirit of the English commander, desperately wounded as he was, directed his ship to fall down to the assistance of his friends: in his progress he was in imminent danger from a fire-ship sent off from Badily's Squadron, and which obliged him to desist from his purpose, so that he

was deprived of the glory of deciding the fortune of the day ; but another ship coming to the assistance of the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, the attack was renewed with vigour. Some Dutch writers relate, that the English commander, finding himself oppressed by such unequal numbers, like the brave Sir Richard Grenville in the reign of queen Elizabeth *, attempted to blow up his ship ; but in this desperate design, like the former hero, he was opposed by his officers and the crew, so that he was obliged to yield. Young Van Tromp attacked the Sampson, but was beaten off after an obstinate contest, though soon after she was burnt by a fire-ship. The Levant Merchant also not only beat off a ship that encountered her, but stranded it ; after which she was herself taken ; as also the Pilgrim, having lost her main and mizen-masts in the fight. The only remaining English ship of the six that sailed out of Leghorn, was the Mary, who disengaged herself from the enemy, and joined Badily's squadron, which had kept aloof during the engagement †. To return now to the transactions nearer home.

After his expedition northward, Blake cruised in the Channel, where he greatly annoyed the Dutch in their trade ; and the French having committed some hostilities on the banks of Newfoundland, this dauntless chieftain attacked a strong squadron of their ships, as they were passing to the relief of Dunkirk, all of which he either took or destroyed ; by which means that important fortress fell into the hands of the Spaniards ‡. Notwithstanding which the French were not disposed to retaliate ; but, on the contrary, sought the re-establishment of friendship between them and the commonwealth.

* See Vol. I. p. 456.
 † Clarendon, p. 636.

‡ Lediard's Naval History, p. 551.

Soon

Soon after, Blake fell in with the grand fleet of Holland, off the North Foreland, which was commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter. Blake divided his fleet into three squadrons; the first of which he commanded in person; the second was under vice-admiral Penn; and the third under rear-admiral Bourne. On the 28th of September, about three in the afternoon, the engagement began. The Dutch were sheltered behind a sand-bank, and in the attack many of the English ships ran aground, so that they were obliged to desist, until De Witt, quitting his retreat, bravely invited an action. The English rear-admiral first began the onset, and was gallantly seconded by the whole fleet. A Dutch man of war attempting to board the *Sovereign*, was instantly sunk by the first broadside which she discharged; two other Dutch men of war were sunk, and a fourth blown up during the fight. Their rear-admiral, and two of their captains, were made prisoners. De Witt was hereupon glad to retire, and in his flight was followed by the English fleet, until the night intervened; and the next day the chase was continued quite to the harbours of Holland. Blake then returned in triumph to the Downs, and from thence into port, having had about three hundred men killed, and as many wounded; to the accommodation of the latter of whom the parliament paid particular attention; they likewise sent their thanks to the admiral and his officers.

The naval operations of this active year were not suspended by the approach of winter. In the beginning of November, Blake indeed thought that the season of action was over, and therefore detached twenty sail of his ships to protect the colliery from Newcastle; he sent twelve more to Plymouth, and fifteen sailed up the Thames, to repair

the damage they had received in a storm; he himself still riding in the Downs with about thirty-seven ships. Van Tromp, who was again invested with the chief command, having intelligence of the reduced state of the English fleet, put to sea with seventy-seven ships of war, in order to attack it. On the 29th of November he came in sight, in the place where the first battle had been fought. Blake, after holding a council of war, resolved not to decline the combat, notwithstanding the great inequality of the two fleets; but a storm arising, they were obliged to defer fighting till the next day. Early in the morning the battle began with great fury. Blake in the *Triumph*, with his seconds the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, were, for a long time, engaged with near twenty of the enemy, the superiority of whose force had well nigh born down the admiral, but for the seasonable intervention of other ships of his squadron. On this succour arriving, the fight continued as furious as ever; and notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, remained doubtful for many hours. The *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, commanded by Akfon and Batten, bore down to Van Tromp's ship, and with an unparalleled intrepidity boarded her. The Dutch vice-admiral, Evertzen, seeing the danger to which his commander was exposed, hastened to his support, and thereby rescued him from his assailants, but not before great havock had been made among the Dutch; the admiral's secretary and purser were killed by his side. Among the English, most of the brave fellows that made this bold attempt were cut to pieces, and their two ships were at length taken. These were the only ships that fell into the hands of the Dutch, during this well-fought but unfortunate action; but three other ships were sunk. At length night parted the combatants.

The

The gallant Blake, thinking he had fully maintained the nation's honour, and his own, by engaging an enemy so superior, and coming off with so little loss, retired to the river. The Dutch exulted beyond measure at this inconsiderable advantage; and such was the silly vanity of their admiral, that he is said to have passed through the Channel, with a broom at his main-top-mast head, as it were, to sweep the sea of the English; but this triumph, so vauntingly displayed, was to be very short-lived.

All the homeward-bound trade of Holland was appointed to rendezvous at the Isle of Rhe, in the Bay of Biscay; thither Van Tromp and De Ruyter, (who was now the second in command) with their formidable and victorious fleet, repaired to escort them home.

The English parliament was impatient to wipe off the disgrace which their arms had sustained by this check: they collected their naval force from all quarters, which, when brought together, outnumbered that which was led by Van Tromp. At the request of Blake they sent for general Monk from Scotland to join in the command; and Deane was rear-admiral. Such was the expedition used in forwarding this armament, that they sailed down the Channel before Van Tromp could return from the Bay. The Dutch admiral was surprized to see so powerful an enemy drawn up to receive him off Portland. He had seventy-six men of war, and was escorting about three hundred merchant-ships. By break of day, on the 18th of February 1653, the English descried the Dutch fleet steering along the coast of France, near Cape La Hogue, and immediately bore down to give them battle. The fight which ensued was the most furious that had been fought between these warlike and rival republics.

lics. The admirals Blake and Deane, were both on board the *Triumph*, which, with twelve other ships, first began the engagement about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the rest of the fleet came up, though gallantly seconded by Lawson in the *Fairfax*, and captain Mildmay in the *Vanguard*. Almost at the first onset, Blake received a wound in the thigh; and his captain Ball, and his secretary Sparrow, were both slain by his side: great numbers of his seamen were killed, and scarcely any remained without a wound; the ship too was so miserably shattered, that it had little share in the fight of the two following days. The brave captain Mildmay, in the *Vanguard*, (who had boldly attacked and taken the Dutch vice-admiral in a former action) was slain. The *Prosperous*, of forty-four guns, was boarded by De Ruyter, and taken; but while he himself was near incurring the same fate, she was re-taken by the *Merlin* frigate. Van Tromp's own ship was long engaged with Blake; great destruction was made among his officers and seamen, and his ship was greatly disabled. One Dutch man of war was blown up, six more were either sunk or taken. Such as fell into the hands of the English, had their rigging so clotted with blood and brains, that no one could look upon them without horror*.

The ensuing night was spent in repairing the damages which had been sustained on each side, and in preparations for renewing the fight the next morning. Returning light discovered the enemy seven leagues off Weymouth, whither the English plied, and came up with them in the afternoon, about

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.
p. 549.

† Lediard's Naval History,

three leagues to the south-west of the Isle of Wight. Van Tromp had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of a crescent, inclosing the merchant-ships within a semicircle, and in that position he maintained a retreating fight towards the French coasts. The English made several bold and hazardous attempts to break through to the merchant-men; in one of which De Ruyter's ship was again so roughly saluted, that she was obliged to be towed out of the line: captain Lawson, at the same time, boarded one of the Dutch men of war, and brought her off. At length the merchant-ships finding their convoy no longer in a condition to protect them, began to shift for themselves, and for the greater expedition, threw a considerable part of their cargo overboard. Eight Dutch men of war, and fourteen or sixteen merchant-ships, fell into the hands of the English in this day's action. Night, which in the engagement in the Downs had befriended Blake, now rendered the like service to the harassed Dutch; but skirmishes happened from the close of the day to the return of it*.

The next morning the Dutch were near Boulogne, with the English close at their heels. The fight was soon renewed, and lasted with great fury and bravery on both sides, till four in the afternoon, when the former retreated to the Sands before Calais; and from thence tided it home, the wind favouring them, and the English being fearful of venturing on those shallow coasts. In this pursuit three Dutch men of war were taken by the captains Lawson, Marten, and Graver; and Penn picked up several merchantmen. The Dutch lost, in these three days actions, eleven ships of war, and thirty merchant-ships†. Fifteen hundred

* Columna Rostrata, p. 115. Lediard's Naval History, p. 549. Burchett, p. 329.

† Clarendon says 50.

of

of their men were killed, and a greater number made prisoners. On the side of the English only one ship was lost, the Sampson, which her captain finding disabled, sunk; but their loss of men was little inferior to the Dutch*. In this action Blake availed himself very much of a large body of soldiers, who acted in quality of marines, and whose small arms did great execution.

By this time the States-general had incurred such enormous debts for the maintenance of the war, and their trade had suffered so severely by the English, that nothing but dejection and murmurs was to be met with in Holland. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off; even that to the Baltic was much molested by English privateers; their fisheries were totally at a stand. Above sixteen hundred of their ships had been taken; and all this distress they suffered not to farther any national interests, but by contending about mere points of honour: they therefore thought proper to make new concessions to the parliament. But before this negotiation could be set on foot, a strange revolution happened in England.

Cromwell, by this time, perceived that the parliament dreaded his ambition, and that, under colour of a sea-war, they aimed at the disbanding of the land-army. On such firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that though an adept in intrigue and dissimulation, he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting this bold enterprize. He summoned a general council of officers, and found that they were disposed to receive any impressions he chose to give them. The breach, between the

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 175.

military and civil powers, was first made when cornet Joyce seized the king at Holdenby; and the general officers considered the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and beheld, with disgust, the offices and emoluments of government exclusively enjoyed by its members. In this council of officers it was resolved to frame a remonstrance to parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army; and reminding the parliament of the many years they had sat, and of their former professions to new model the representation, and cause successive elections, at proper intervals of time, so that the burden of legislation might be shifted from those who had so long supported it, with great danger and fatigue. They confessed that the parliament had achieved noble enterprizes, and had surmounted mighty difficulties, yet they contended that the nation at large ought not to be excluded from bearing a part in the service of their country. They therefore desired them, after settling a council which might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government which they had so long promised to the people*.

This remonstrance was disrelished by the majority in the house. It resolved, that it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament, while the nation had a war to carry on, and many other important affairs to transact, but that writs should be issued for the return of members for the vacant seats. At the same time they appointed a committee to prepare a bill, forbidding all persons to present such remonstrances, and making it high treason so to do.

Notwithstanding this firmness in the parliament, the proceedings of the army were warmly supported

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 218.

by the minority in the house, and mutual altercation and opposition, caused the breach to grow wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwell, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called another council, in order to come to a determination with regard to public measures. While they were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell, that the parliament had resolved not to dissolve themselves. He forthwith started up with marks of violent indignation in his countenance, and hastened to the house with a detachment of three hundred soldiers, whom he posted at the door, and in the lobby. Then entering, he addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of soul, the Lord had imposed on him. After having sat some time to hear the debates, when the speaker was about to put the question, he suddenly rose up, and in the most opprobrious terms, reviled the members for their ambition, tyranny, extortion, and robbery of the public. After this torrent of general invective, he stamped upon the floor, and the soldiers entered. Then addressing himself to the members, he said, "Get you gone, give place to honest men, you are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane rising up to remonstrate against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed, "O, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" He took hold of Martin, another member, by the cloak, saying, "Thou art a whoremaster;" another he reproached as an adulterer; a third as a drunkard; and a fourth as an extortioner; adding, "It is you that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Pointing to the mace, he bid a soldier "take away that bauble." He

He then turned out all the members, ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, retired to his lodgings at Whitehall. Thus, by one daring exploit, which was atchieved without bloodshed or clamour, the new republic was abolished, and the whole power of three kingdoms, civil and military, vested in the person of Cromwell*.

The army now, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the realm. He was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom, installed at Whitehall in the palace of the English kings, and invested with all the power of sovereignty itself. Justice was to be administered in his name, and from him all magistracy and honours were to be derived: the right of making peace, war, and alliances was lodged in him; but here he was to act entirely by the advice, and with the consent of his council. This council was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons, who were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, of whom the protector was to chuse one. He had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treason; and all forfeitures devolved to him. He was to summon a parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills they passed were to be presented for his consent; but if it was not obtained within twenty days, they were to become laws by the authority of parliament. A standing army was established for Britain and Ireland of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse;

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 239. Smollett's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 426.

and funds were assigned for their support: these were not to be diminished without the protector's consent. The protector and council were to have the power of enacting laws, during the intervals of parliament, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Scotland and Ireland, and the chief justices of both the benches, were to be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. Toleration was provided for all those who professed faith in Jesus Christ, with an exception to popery and prelacy; and to such as, under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, his place was immediately to be supplied by the council.

These innovations in the civil government, threw a languor over the naval operations in the spring of 1653, and frustrated the negotiation for a peace, which the States of Holland and Zeeland had set on foot, and ardently wished to render effectual. Van Tromp availed himself of this short season, wherein the vigilance of the English was relaxed, to convey a large fleet of merchantmen round by the north, (for the route by the Channel was too dangerous to be attempted) which he escorted out and home in safety: he then entered the Downs with his men of war, made some prizes, and to show his prowess, battered Dover-Castle *; but he was soon chastised for this vaunt.

An English fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships, commanded by

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 180.

Monk and Deane, assisted by vice-admiral Penn and captain Lawson, (then made a rear-admiral) was assembled in Yarmouth Roads *. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war and six fire-ships, the commanders of which were Van Tromp, De Witt, De Ruyter, and Evertsens : each power was solicitous to decide the dispute by coming to a general action. No sooner was the Dutch fleet out of the Texel, than the English bore down to engage it. On the 2d of June 1653, the battle began, about eleven o'clock in the morning. One of the first broadsides from the enemy killed the brave admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, who was on board the same ship, with great presence of mind covered his body with a cloak, and as there was still an admiral to command, no flag was taken down, so that the fleet remained ignorant of what had happened, and the fight was continued with unabating warmth. The blue squadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral Lawson laid himself along-side of De Ruyter, to whom, in former actions, he had been a desperate, and almost a successful assailant. At this time he had well-nigh taken the Dutch admiral, but being diverted from his prey, he sunk a Dutch ship of forty-two guns. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Van Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship commanded by Cornelius Van Velsen blew up. In the night Blake arrived with a squadron of eighteen ships. The Dutch still retreating towards the coast of Flanders, the fight was renewed the next day about noon, off of Neuport, in the Austrian Netherlands,

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 552.

with

with greater fury than the day before, and continued very hot for about four hours. Vice-admiral Penn twice boarded Tromp's ship, and would have taken it, but for the support which it received from De Witt and De Ruyter. The Dutch at length were so hotly pressed on all side, that they fell into the utmost confusion, and being entirely routed, sought their safety among the Flats, from whence, with great difficulty, they reached Zeeland. In these actions six of the best ships in the Dutch fleet were sunk, two were blown up, and eleven taken; six of their captains were made prisoners, with upwards of fifteen hundred men. Of the ships, one bore a vice-admiral's flag, and two those of rear-admirals. On the side of the English not a ship was lost, and very few men were slain. This important victory may therefore be said to be purchased with the loss of the brave admiral Deane, and one captain.

After this disaster, Van Tromp, in a memorial to the States-general, set forth, that the ships and guns of the Dutch fleet were too slender to cope with those of the English; and De Ruyter declared, that he would not put to sea again, if his fleet was not reinforced with greater and better ships*. In consequence of this important victory the English fleets lay on the Dutch coasts, and put an entire stop to their trade. The States, impatient of such loss and dishonour, exerted themselves to the utmost to retrieve their affairs. Never, on any occasion, did the power and vigour of that republic appear in a more conspicuous light: in a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet, and equipped some ships of a larger size than any which they had hitherto sent to sea. Tromp set sail with this force, determined to fight the victors, and to die

* Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 290.

rather

rather than to yield the contest. The two fleets were pretty equal in force, and the desire of possessing the sovereignty of the ocean, animated both States to a fierce and obstinate conflict. The general engagement began on the 31st of July, and continued eight hours with terrible fury; and as it was the last, so was it the most fierce combat during this impetuous war. At the beginning of the action the Dutch fire-ships had well nigh decided the fortune of the day, being managed with great dexterity, many of the largest vessels in the English fleet were in imminent danger of being set on fire; the *Triumph* had like to have perished, inso-much that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, but by the exertions of those that remained on board, the flames were extinguished*. Admiral Lawson attacked De Ruyter with such fury, as to kill or wound above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet; but that brave Dutchman would not be withheld from the scene of action by the disaster of his ship, therefore going on board another, he continued to maintain the fight. It is said by Burchet†, that Monk, to put a speedy end to the war, had issued orders to all his captains, neither to give nor to take quarter; so that, in a few hours, the air was filled with the fragments of ships blown up, and human bodies; and the sea was dyed with blood. When the fight had continued about six hours, Van Tromp, as he was delivering out his orders, was shot through the body with a musket bullet, and instantly expired. This so damped the ardour of the whole fleet, that it presently began to give way. At the beginning of the battle the Dutch had five flags flying on board their fleet, and when they

* *Hutchinson's Chronicle*, p. 147.

† *Page 154.*

began

began to retreat, only one remained. By night the shattered navy of Holland recovered the Texel. Twenty-six of their ships were sunk *; five of their captains were taken prisoners, and near five thousand men were slain or drowned. The orders forbidding quarter were not strictly observed, for twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, whilst their ships were sinking †. This signal victory was purchased with considerable loss on the side of the English, four hundred men, and eight captains, perished in the fight, and above seven thousand were wounded ‡.

Cromwell gave the most effectual orders for the English navy being repaired, that he might avail himself of the consternation which the death of Tromp, and the defeat of their fleet, had spread among the provinces. The parliament which Cromwell had nominated were then sitting, and immediately voted gold chains to be presented to the generals Blake and Monk, vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson; and medals to the captains. The 25th of August following was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving; and Monk being then in London, Cromwell, at a feast in the city, himself put the chain about his neck, and required him to wear it during the entertainment §. Meanwhile the negotiations for a peace were renewed. The United States, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they experienced to be an overmatch for them. Charles, still acknowledged king of Great-Britain by France, signified an inclination to serve on board the Dutch fleet; but that

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 185. † Columna Rostrata, p. 130. ‡ Burchett, p. 384. § Columna Rostrata, p. 134. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 187.

republic,

republic, though they expressed a sense of the honour intended them, declined an offer which tended to foment the quarrel with the English commonwealth. The war, though maintained no more than three years, had been carried on with such activity on both sides, as could not fail of greatly impoverishing the victor, and almost ruining the vanquished. Cromwell, rather than load the people with new impositions, which might have excited a dangerous clamour, at that juncture, of his newly-acquired power, was well disposed towards peace, and it was ratified on the 5th of April 1654. By this treaty the Dutch consented to pay the long-disputed compliment to the British flag. They abandoned the interests of Charles; they engaged to pay eighty-five thousand pounds, as indemnification for losses sustained by the English East-India Company, and to restore to them the Island of Pollarone. Those who had been concerned in the massacre at Amboyna were to be punished, if any remained alive, and three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds was to be paid to the sufferers in that business, or their representatives; and a defensive league was entered into between the two States.

The desperate war in which the Dutch had been engaged, which seemed to threaten almost the entire destruction of their commonwealth, did not prevent those indefatigable people from making a settlement at the Cape of Good-Hope, for the benefit of their East-India trade. They had long felt the want of a place where their vessels might put in to get refreshments, both in going and returning from India. They therefore settled a colony on this southern extremity of Africa, as is generally said in the year 1652, to serve as a staple for the commerce of Europe and Asia. The English East-India Company, among the demands which it made on Holland when the peace was settled, claimed a

right to colonize and fortify at the Cape, and to trade from thence without restriction; to support which they alledged, that in the reign of king James, (but the precise year is not specified) one of their ships took possession of lands situated there, cast up a rampart, which they called James's Mount, and planted the English colours thereon *. These claims however were not admitted on the ratification of the peace.

The war between the two republics being terminated, Cromwell was at leisure to bend his attention to other powers of Europe, to whom he bore no friendly disposition. The queen of England, and her son Charles, resided generally at Paris, and received from the French court a small yearly pension. This assistance was very displeasing to the English government; accordingly we have seen Blake attack and seize a whole squadron of French ships, which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk. The French ministry thought it expedient to renounce the interests of the royal family, to avoid a rupture with England; Charles was therefore treated with such studied indifference in France, that he quitted the kingdom, and went first to Spa, and then to Cologne. Cardinal Mazarine, prime minister to Louis XIV. was extremely solicitous to engage Cromwell in an alliance with France against Spain; and, in short, all the nations of Europe, which had slighted the alliance of England under the reigns of James and Charles, solicited it under the protector. Mazarine, on the part of France, and Don Louis O'Haro, on that of Spain, used all their arts of policy to unite themselves to him; and Cromwell, for some time, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms in Europe †. He is

* Collection of Treaties, Vol. III.
Louis XIV. Vol. I. p. 70.

† Voltaire Siecle de

charged

charged with having adopted a false system of policy, by aiding the dangerous ambition of France, in weakening the declining condition of Spain; for by entering into the views of cardinal Mazarine, he contributed to aggrandize a power that has been terrible to Europe ever since. We shall not pretend to decide upon this point; but it is certain, that the extensive empire, and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West-Indies; the vigorous courage, and great naval power of England, were circumstances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprizing protector, and made him hope, that he might, by some gainful conquest, render forever illustrious, that dominion which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain; were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without loading the people with new burdens. The protector was informed of the state of the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies, by one who had been a Romish priest, and was named Gage, but who had embraced the principles of protestantism. This man had long resided in those parts. The first declaration of the part Cromwell had taken, was made by the restoration of the ships which had been taken by Blake. That he meant to employ the arms of England against some foreign power was evident, from orders being issued, that the navy should be repaired, and put into a good condition immediately on the conclusion of the Dutch war; many new ships were likewise built; the store-houses and arsenals were filled with ammunition and provision, and Europe began to be alarmed at the proceedings of a state, whose measures had been hitherto regarded with indifference.

In the summer of the year 1654, Cromwell ordered two great fleets to be provided; one to be commanded by admiral Blake, the other by vice-admiral Penn: neither of them had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; so far from it, they knew not perfectly what themselves were to perform*. Their orders were to be opened at sea, and they had no farther lights given them than were absolutely requisite for making the necessary preparations. Blake, as soon as all things were ready, put to sea, and sailed into the Straits, where his orders were to procure satisfaction from such princes and states, as had either insulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. Before his departure it had been industriously given out, that he was to intercept the duke of Guise, and to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French: this had the desired effect, it lulled the Spaniards asleep, and even disposed them to shew the admiral all possible civilities; who, very probably, had as yet no suspicion of Cromwell's design to break with that nation. The first place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke; the prince, when he had understood that not less than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds were expected of him, was greatly surprized; however, it was moderated to sixty thousand pounds. This sum, there is reason to believe, was actually paid†. From thence Blake proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March 1655, and anchored without the Mole, sending an officer to the dey, to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the English, and the release of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey

* Clarendon's Hist. p. 6-3. Whitlock. Rapin. † Heath's Chron. p. 336. Vie de Cromwell, Vol. II. p. 345. Life of Blake. Baues's History.

answered

answered very modestly, that as for the ships and slaves, they were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them with safety to himself; but that he would make it his care they should be redeemed upon easy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hostilities being committed for the future. The admiral left the port upon this, and sailed to Tunis, where he sent a like message on shore; but received a very short answer, viz. Here are our castles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your worst, we do not fear you. Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, which he played upon so warmly, as presently to reduce them to a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn, and with this view ordered every captain of his own ship to man his long boat with choice men, and commanded them to enter the harbour, and fire the ships of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the pyrates, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had long been formidable in Europe. From Tunis Blake went to Tripoli, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms glorious for himself, and profitable to his country*.

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 574, 375. Vie de Cromwell, Vol. II. p. 348, 349.

In

In this expedition Blake received every mark of respect and civility. Whilst he lay in the harbour of Cadiz, a Dutch admiral would not hoist his flag : one of the victuallers being separated from his fleet, fell in with a French admiral and seven men of war. The captain of the English victualler was ordered on board the admiral's ship, and the French commander particularly enquired after Blake; drank his health under the discharge of five guns, and then courteously took leave of his guest. The Algerines stood in such awe of him, that they were wont to stop the Sallee-rovers, and if they found any English prisoners on board them, would take them away, and send them to Blake, in hopes thereby of purchasing his favour*. Whilst he lay in the port of Malaga, he testified such a zeal for his country's honour, as can scarcely be paralleled. Some of his seamen going on shore, met in the street the procession of the host; as the Romish ceremonies were execrated by the English, these sailors, not content with passing it unreverenced themselves, ridiculed and abused such as did it homage. The ecclesiastic who attended, stirred up the people to revenge this profanation; whereupon they fell upon the sailors, and beat them severely. When the fellows reached the English ships, they complained to their admiral of the treatment they had received, who immediately sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who had instigated this assault. The governor excused himself by urging, that his authority did not extend to the servants of the church. Blake, not at all satisfied with this plea, sent back his messenger, telling the governor, that he would not enter into the question who had power to send the delinquent, but that he

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

required



Samuel del.

North sculp.

ADM^l. BLAKE at MALAGA.

*I will have you and all the world know; that none
but an Englishman shall chastise an Englishman.*

Published June 10 1779. by I. Bow Paternoster Row.

required him to be sent in three hours, otherwise he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. This threat spread such a general alarm, that the priest was immediately delivered up. When he was brought before the English admiral, he pleaded the insolent behaviour of the English sailors, in excuse for his conduct; to which Blake answered, that if complaint had been made to him, their commander, he would have caused them to be punished, as he would not suffer any of his crews to affront the religion of a place where they touched; but he sternly reprimanded the priest for setting the Spaniards to beat them, concluding with saying, *that he would have him, and all the world know, that none but an Englishman should chastise an Englishman* *.

The other fleet under vice-admiral Penn consisted of about thirty ships of war, and a convenient number of transports; it was also commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was colonel Venables, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest. On this account, Venables and his troops, to the number of five thousand, amongst whom many were royalists, were hurried on board at Portsmouth; whence he immediately sailed for Barbadoes †, though little prepared for such an expedition; that one great end seemed to be, to get rid of them. The fleet arrived in Carlisle-Bay, on the 29th of January 1655. They staid in the Island of Barbadoes some time to recruit, and make the necessary preparations for their intended descent on the Island of Hispaniola. General Venables found himself deficient in all sorts of necessaries; and no cordial agreement subsisted between him and the

* Burnet's own Times, Vol. I. p. 80.
p. 673. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365.

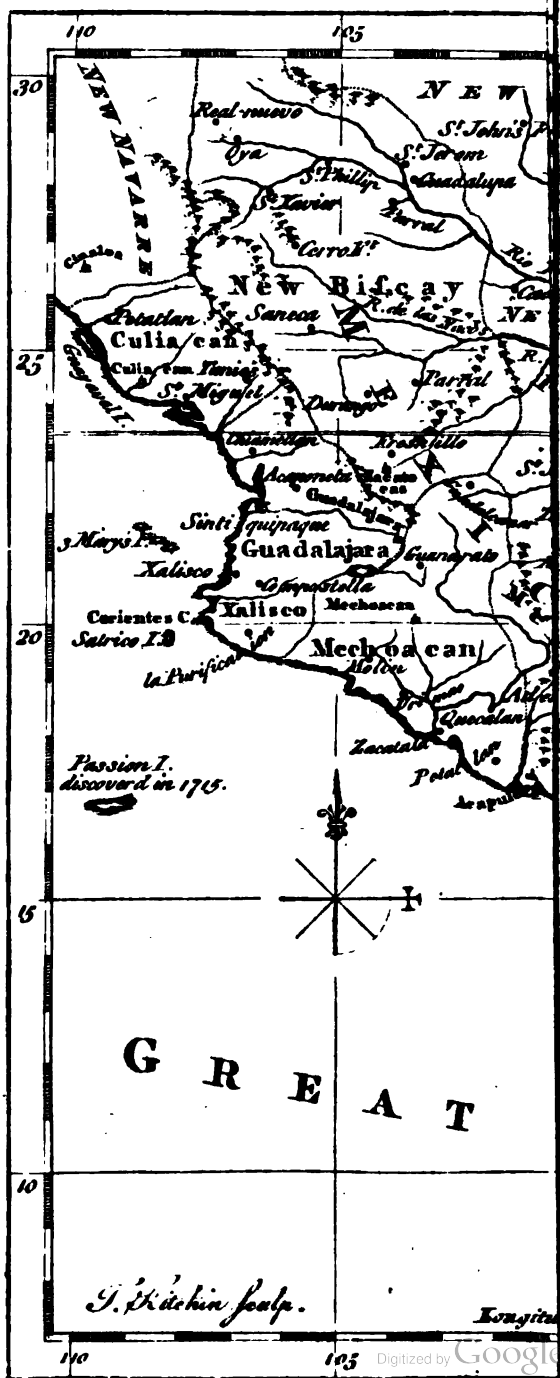
† Clarendon's History,
admiral,

admiral, so that the latter was little inclined to afford him even the assistance that was in his power *. From Barbadoes the fleet sailed on the last of March, to St. Christopher's, where they met with a reinforcement of volunteers, many resorting to them from all our plantations, with the hopes of plundering the Spaniards; so that when they embarked for Hispaniola, Venables had under his command the greatest body of European troops that had ever been seen in that part of the world; his army consisting of very near ten thousand men. Most of these when they left England, did it with a view of making their fortunes; but were now told that the whole of their plunder was to be accounted for. This had like to have thrown them into a general mutiny; and it was with much difficulty that the officers pacified them. With this spirit of discontent the troops embarked for Hispaniola †. They arrived before the city of St. Domingo, and general Venables proposed, that they should sail directly into the harbour; which however was not agreed to by the sea-officers, who proposed landing at the river Mine; for which purpose, part of the squadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral Goodson, who, when at sea, declared he had not pilots to conduct the ships into the mouth of the river; therefore the troops were compelled (notwithstanding general Venables protested against it) to land at the west point ‡; from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country without any guide, insomuch that numbers of men and horses, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were destroyed. After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been first landed; but by that time the

* Heath's Chronicle. Vie de Cromwell, Vol. II.
Chronicle, p. 269. † 13th of April, 1655.

‡ Heath's
enemy





enemy had drawn together the whole force of the island, and had recovered from their first surprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox, the guide, to march away; for want of this guide the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of the road. Exasperated with these disappointments, and the hardships they had undergone; the regiment of marines, under the command of admiral Goodson, mutinied first, and then the land troops, so that the general had great difficulty to prevail on them to ford the river. At last colonel Buller, and Cox the guide, joined them, and promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water; but this colonel taking the liberty of straggling for the sake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of these skirmishes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were at last repulsed, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town*. In this distressed condition a council of war was called; where, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to march to the harbour, which, with much difficulty, they effected. There they staid three or four days to furnish themselves with provisions and other necessaries, and then, with a single mortar-piece, marched into the island, again to reduce the fort. The van-guard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackson, who, as soon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops followed him. The passage through the woods being very narrow, they pressed on the general's regiment, which, in vain, endeavoured to stop them with their pikes. They likewise disordered major-general Haines's regiment, which gave the enemy, who

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 392.

followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; so that the major-general, and the bravest of his officers, who preferred death to flight, ended their days there. At last Venables and Goodson, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithstanding the fire from the fort was very warm*. By this time the forces were so much fatigued and discouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, caused himself to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at last, he was forced to leave the care to major-general Fortescue, who, in vain, attempted to revive the drooping spirits of the troops. Soon after it was resolved, in a council of war, that since the enemy had fortified all the passes, and the whole army was in the utmost distress for want of water, they should march to a place where they were informed that a supply of that and other necessaries had been put ashore from the ships. In this march the soldiers followed their officers, till they found themselves in danger, and then deserted them. Had not the Spaniards been seized with a panic equally strong, they might, in a very few days, have destroyed the whole army. Penn, Winslow, and Buller, hereupon resolved to leave the place, and make an attempt upon the Island of Jamaica. Such was the issue of this attack, after the troops had been on shore from the 14th of April to the 1st of May.

The descent on Jamaica was better conducted than that on Hispaniola; for immediately on their landing, which was on the 3d of May, Venables ordered, that if any should be found attempting to

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 393.

run away, the next man to him should put him to death; which if he failed to do, he should be liable to a court-martial*. The next day they attacked a fort, which they carried, and were preparing to storm the town of St. Jago; but this the Spanish inhabitants prevented by a timely treaty; yet before the general would listen to any propositions of peace, he insisted that a certain quantity of provisions should be sent them daily, which was punctually performed: this gave his soldiers strength and spirits, and, in a short time, their negotiations ended in a complete surrender of the island to the English†.

When Penn and Venables returned to England, the protector ordered both to be committed to the Tower. The failure of the attack on St. Domingo disappointed all the vast expectations he had formed of the expedition; and the acquisition of Jamaica was a conquest, which did not then appear of that importance which it has since proved. Cromwell however paid due attention to this new possession; he strengthened it by a seasonable supply of men and money, and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English‡.

Whilst these transactions passed in the western world, Blake's fleet was cruising, and was in the road of Cadiz, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, at the time the blow was struck at Jamaica; Cromwell having

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 314. Clarendon. Whitlock. Heath's *Chronicle*. † Burchet, Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin. ‡ The

number of Spanish inhabitants on the island when it was subdued by the English, did not exceed fifteen hundred persons, with about as many negroes. Columbus first visited this island in 1494. He found it pleasant and populous; but the Spaniards are said, even by their own authors, to have put to death no fewer than sixty thousand of the natives; and when the English became possessed of it, that miserable race was totally extirpated by these European savages.—*Anderson on Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 95.

carefully concealed his design of breaking with Spain. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately against England, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions, to an immense value*. The very lucrative trade carried on from England with Spain, was by this means cut off, and was transferred to the Hollanders, which was to them an accession of wealth very seasonably obtained, and served to recruit that state, exhausted by the war carried on against England.—Such are the revolutions in the system of politics, that the nation which, about fourscore years before, supported the distressed inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces, against the force of Spain, which then threatened to overwhelm them, had but just put an end to a bitter war with the republic which they had emancipated, whilst the power that then sought their destruction, now admitted them to the most valuable commercial advantages.

Blake, to whom Montagu was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards. He lay for some time off the harbour of Cadiz, where lay a fleet of forty sail; and on that station he hoped to intercept the flora, but that not arriving so soon as he expected, he found his stock of water begin to fail, and was obliged to sail for Portugal to procure a supply. The admirals still left a squadron of seven frigates, under the command of commodore Stayner, to intercept the galleons. A few days after, they came in sight, and the English commander gave them chase, and presently came up with them. They consisted of eight large ships. The weather was so unfavourable for the attack,

* Clarendon. Whitlock. Heath's Chronicle. Kennet. Echard. Ludlow. Rapin.

that

that four vessels of his small force could not come up to bear a part in the action; yet with the other three, the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater*, and the *Plymouth*, he made a furious attack on the Spaniards. After an obstinate engagement two of the galleons were sunk; two more ran on shore; two were taken, and only two escaped into Cadiz. One of the ships that were sunk, had been set on fire in the action, on board of which was the marquis of Badajoz, of the family of Lopez, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter. This nobleman had an opportunity of escaping the flames; but seeing his wife and child sink under the distress that surrounded them, and perish, he preferred death with them, to life without them, and refused to leave the ship*. His eldest son and his brother were saved. On board the two ships which fell into the hands of the English, were near two millions of pieces of eight; and treasure, to an equal amount, was buried in the ocean. Admiral Montagu, with the young marquis of Badajoz, and part of the fleet to escort the silver, arrived at Portsmouth; from whence the treasure was conveyed by land, with great parade, to London†.

Blake having received intelligence that another Spanish fleet from South-America had put into the Canary-Islands, immediately proceeded thither. He found the ships in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriff. They consisted of six galleons, richly laden, and ten other vessels. These latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons were drawn up without the boom, because they drew too much water to lie within it. The harbour itself was strongly fortified, having to the north a castle well furnished with ar-

* Thurot, Vol. V. p. 433.

† September, 1656.

tillery,

tillery, and seven forts, which communicated with each other, all of which were defended by a numerous garrison. The Spanish governor, don Diego Diagues, considered the place as so secure by nature and art, and so well provided with the means of defence, that when the master of a Dutch ship applied to him for leave to sail, because he dreaded Blake's attacking the ships in the harbour, he scornfully answered, *Go if you will, and let Blake come if he dare* *.

The English admiral, after surveying the situation of the enemy, and the strength of the place, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attack the ships in the harbour, and endeavour to destroy them, it being considered as impracticable to carry them off. Captain Stayner, who had so effectually attacked the Spanish galleons, was appointed, with a small squadron, to this honourable and desperate service. He soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played their guns on the forts and lines, and thereby prevented them from annoying the ships in their attack. Stayner's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet; the wind seconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought them among the thickest of the enemy. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed, with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They were exposed to the fire of the castle and the forts, which, with all their cautions, they could not expect to silence; but whilst they remained in this perilous situation, the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay, leaving the

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 391.

Spaniards

Spaniards in astonishment, at the intrepidity and good fortune of the English. The whole loss sustained in this daring attempt, was no more than forty-eight men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded*.

When the news of this glorious success was brought to the protector, he sent his secretary, Thurloe, to the parliament, which was then sitting, with the account, who thereupon appointed a day of general thanksgiving, and voted a ring, of five hundred pounds value, to the commander in chief; a present of one hundred pounds to the captain that brought the news; and their thanks to all the officers and seamen concerned in the action†. Captain Stayner, returning soon after, was knighted by the protector.

As this was the last, so was it the most distinguished achievement of the renowned Blake. Shortly after, he again cruised before the harbour of Cadiz, where, finding his ships become foul, and that his own health and spirits wore away, he resolved to sail for England. By this time he was languishing under an inveterate scurvy, attended with a dropsy. In his passage home he became much worse; and as he perceived his end approaching, he frequently enquired, with great earnestness, after the appearance of land, anxious to breathe out his last in his native country. But this satisfaction he did not enjoy; he died as his ship (the *St. George*) entered Plymouth Sound, on the 17th of August, 1657, aged fifty-nine years. "Never man," says Mr. Hume, "so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed, even by the opposite factions. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst

* April, 1657. Burchet's Naval History, p. 396. Clarendon's
 † Ludlow, p. 603.

all the trust and caresses he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is still our duty*, he would say to the seamen, *to fight for our country, into what bands soever the government may fall.* He was disinterested, generous, and liberal; ambitious only of true glory; dreadful only to his avowed enemies: he therefore forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant *."

The next day after his death his body was embalmed, and wrapped in lead; his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth; and his corpse, by order of the protector, was conveyed by water to Greenwich-house, and from thence carried, with great funeral pomp, to Westminster-Abbey, where it was interred: but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory †.

The

* History of England. Vol. VII. p. 258.

† Blake was descended from a considerable family in Somersetshire. His father, Mr. Humphrey Blake, was a Spanish merchant, who having acquired a considerable fortune, for those times, chose to reside where his family had been long settled, and purchased an estate in the vicinity of Bridgwater. Robert Blake, of whom we are now speaking, was the eldest of several sons; he was born in August 1598, and received the first rudiments of his education at a free-school in Bridgwater; he afterwards removed to Oxford; where he was first entered of St. Alban's-Hall, and afterwards of Wadham-College. In this seminary of learning he continued seven years. He very early discovered a temper of mind strongly fixed and settled; disinclined to general and indiscriminate intercourse, his deportment favoured of moroseness and spleen; it was only to his particular intimates that he appeared social, and then he possessed a particular vein of biting humour. His keenest satire was generally exercised against courtiers and churchmen, which disposition occa-
sioned

Engraved for
Hervey's Naval
History.



"Thy name
Was heard in thunder through th'affrighted Shores
Of pale Iberia; of Submygne Gaul;
And Tagus trembling to his utmost Source.
O ever faithful vigilant and brave,
Thou bold assertor of Britannia's fame,
Unconquerable Blake!" Glover

Robert Blake Admiral Died 17 Aug. 1657 Aged 59

The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, was the last action of any consequence which was performed during the war with Spain. The conduct of Cromwell in foreign affairs, though imprudent

sioned his associates to be composed of such as were attached to republican principles; and there can be little doubt but that he himself was strongly inclined to that form of government. The regularity and probity of his manners strongly recommended him to the virtuous part of mankind; and his catholic spirit, which rendered him averse to every species of persecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgess for Bridgwater, in the parliament which sat in April 1640*.

The disagreement between the king and his parliament occasioned that assembly to be dissolved almost as soon as assembled. In the long parliament, which sat soon after, he lost his election. He was very early in arms against the king on the breaking out of the civil war, and presently rose to the command of a company of dragoons, and distinguished himself for his undaunted spirit and address. When prince Rupert laid siege to Bristol, Blake commanded a small fort on the line, which he resolutely defended, after the city had capitulated. This conduct so exasperated the victor, that he threatened to hang Blake for his obstinacy; many who were his friends interposed, and excused him on account of his inexperience in the rules observed in war; they had however much difficulty to persuade Blake to surrender up the fort at last†.

He was afterwards employed in Somersetshire, where he held the rank of a lieutenant-colonel under Popham, and whilst there, surprized Taunton, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye; and in 1644 was appointed governor of that place, and defended it with an unparalleled firmness and conduct, against ten thousand of the king's troops commanded by Goring; for which signal service the parliament voted him five hundred pounds. In 1646 he reduced Dunster-Castle, a seat belonging to the Luttrell family.

Although he was attached to republican principles, yet he was far from approving of the violent measures which

* Wood's Fasti Oxoniensis, Vol. I. p. 204.

† Clarendon, p. 681.

prudent and impolitic, was full of vigour and enterprize, and procured a respect to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. The great mind of this successful usurper

were adopted after the king's person became in the custody of the parliament; and he is said to have been greatly averse to bringing Charles to the scaffold.

After the civil war was ended, we find him, by a very singular and remarkable transition, from a colonel of dragoons become an admiral, in which capacity we have followed him through all his splendid and glorious achievements.

In the month of February 1651, Blake returning from his expedition against prince Rupert, fell in with a French man of war of forty guns, the commander of which he ordered on board his ship, and asked him if he was willing to lay down his sword? The other declared he was not, on which Blake bad him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The Frenchman took him at his word, fought his ship bravely for two hours, and then striking, went again on board Blake's ship, and taking his sword from his side, first kissed, and then presented it to the conqueror on his knees. This ship, with four others of the same nation, the admiral sent into England, and when he arrived there himself, the parliament voted him the thanks of their house for his vigilance and valour, and appointed him a warden of the Cinque-Ports; and, in the same year, he was elected one of the council of state.

When the Dutch war broke out, Blake was appointed sole general of the fleet for nine months; and when the contest concerning the honour of the flag, brought on an engagement between him and Van Tromp in the Downs, the particulars of which have been related, Blake was in his cabin drinking with some of his officers, little expecting the rough salute which he received from the Dutch admiral, whose shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern. This put our general into a violent passion; so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do when he was very angry, he gave orders to answer the Dutch in their own way, observing, that *he took it very ill of Van Tromp, that*
he

usurper was intent on spreading the glory of the English nation; and while he struck mankind with astonishment at his extraordinary fortune, he seemed to enoble, instead of debase that people, whom he had

he should take his ship for a bawdy-house, and break his windows.

He is one of the most remarkable instances that our history furnishes, of a commander acting under a strong impression of religious principles. When he sat about any important enterprize, his custom was, to cause a solemn fast to be observed throughout his fleet, to implore the blessing of heaven on their arms. So vigilant was he against the Dutch, that the merchant-ships of that nation soon thought, that attempting to pass through the Channel, even under convoy of their men of war, was too hazardous an undertaking; they therefore generally put into some French port, and there unladed their vessels, transporting their cargoes, at a very heavy expence, and with great loss of time, over-land to Holland.

It is not a little remarkable, how a man, whose whole conduct was so uniformly governed by principle, should take so active a part in such measures of government, as were about this time adopted; particularly the unwarrantable attack on the Spaniards in their western settlements, without any sufficient provocation having been given on their part, and without a previous declaration of war on ours; but it seems, that he satisfied his conscience on this head, by the consideration, that it was his business, as an officer, to act faithfully in his station, and to discharge his duty to his country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home: to enforce this doctrine, he would often say among his officers, that *state affairs are not our province, but that we are bound to keep foreigners from fooling us.*

These principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him so generally the reputation of a patriot, that when Cromwell, in his new model of a parliament, allowed the town of Bridgwater the right of sending one representative only, Blake was chosen to that trust. He was also very acceptable to the protector, though he was far from being his creature; for Cromwell knew, that in principle he was

had reduced to subjection. It was his boast, that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared, and revered, as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in

attached to a commonwealth form of government, for which reason he took care to employ him abroad as much as possible, to prevent his opposing his arbitrary measures at home; being well assured, that Blake's solicitude for the glory of England, would engage him to his utmost for the advancement of it; and that the motives on which he acted, would stimulate him to more illustrious actions, than other men could be excited to, by views of interest or ambition*.

The glory he acquired by accomplishing the bold design of burning the Spanish *flota* in the harbour of Santa Cruz, is rendered still more splendid, by the rigid adherence which he shewed to strict and impartial justice in a very trying circumstance. His brother, captain Benjamin Blake, for whom he had a very tender affection, was guilty of some misdemeanor in that action, for which he was, by sentence from Blake, removed from his ship, and the command of it given to another†. Such inflexible impartiality could not fail to produce the best effects on the minds of all those who served under him; and it is not surprizing, that prodigies of valour were performed by men so strictly awed into the performance of their duty.

The death of this truly great man has been already related. His funeral was conducted with all possible state and magnificence, and the body deposited in a new vault, built on purpose in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. At the restoration, a general order was given to the dean and chapter of Westminster, to cause such bodies as had been interred in that church during the troubles, to be removed; in compliance with which, the body of this great admiral was removed from the Abbey, and buried in the church-yard.

Notwithstanding the active part which Blake took against the king, yet those of the party which were styled cavaliers, or royalists, are not wanting in their commendations of him. The earl of Clarendon describes him, as "the first man who

* Clarendon, p. 681.
p. 124.

† Lives, English and foreign, Vol. II.

in these pretensions, their natural vanity being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they internally laboured *. It must also be acknowledged that

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 259.

who declined the old track, and made it manifest, that a knowledge of sea-affairs might be gained in less time than was imagined; and who despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep ships and their crews out of danger, which had been held in former times a proof of great skill and ability; as if the principal art requisite in a captain of a ship had been to take care of coming home safe. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had ever been considered as very formidable, but he discovered that they made a noise only, and frightened those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into seamen, by shewing them experimentally, what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements" †. Doctor Bate, in drawing his character says, "He was a man deserving praise even from an enemy. Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly isles near home, and having attained the office and command of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory abroad; for he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their ports; suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in this, that he complied with the parricides ‡. Wood also in his *Fasti Oxoniensis* § speaks of him as "a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in the performance of them: with him valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment." To these testimonies of his great merit Dr. Campbell

† Clarendon, p. 681.
§ Vol. I. p. 204.

‡ Elenchus Motuum, p. 323.

that the protector in his civil and domestic administration displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his usurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the sword, could possibly admit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled by men of integrity: amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial; and to every man but himself, and to himself, except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour*.

Cromwell, to give the greater appearance of justice to his usurpation, was resolved to govern by parliament, yet by such a parliament alone as he could govern. He assembled them and dissolved them at pleasure; the house of Lords was entirely discontinued; but he set up a new chamber of parliament, composed of his own creatures, to oppose that elected by the voice of the people. Thus, ever active, vigilant, and resolute, he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every insurrection among the people, before they took ef-

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 259.

Campbell has given us the following poetical panegyric, but does not inform us by whom it was written.

While Portugal shall of her Indies boast,
While Naples glories in her beauteous coast,
While Pirate's unto Afric's shore resort,
While Tuscany's enrich'd by her fair port,
While the Dutch fish, and Spaniards vaunt their mines,
To stealing conquests while proud France inclines,
While seas still roar, while ships divide the waves,
While death for fame each gallant sailor braves,
Thy praise shall live; and future heroes take
As Cæsar's once, the noble name of BLAKE †.

† Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 252.

fect.

fect. He had the address to prevail upon his parliament to make him an offer of the crown, merely to have the seeming magnanimity of refusing it, and thus to confirm his real power.

His private life was no less worthy our observation; he lived obscurely in the palace assigned for his habitation, without pomp, without luxury. When he sent his son Henry into Ireland, he allowed him but one servant in his retinue. His manners were naturally austere, and he preserved the dignity and distance of his character in the midst of the coarsest familiarity. He was cruel from policy, just and temperate from inclination; laborious and exact in all his designs; without eloquence he had the talent of persuading; and without sincerity the art of making sincere adherents: his dexterity equally satisfied every sect; with Presbyterians, a Presbyterian; with Deists, a Deist; only an Independent in principle. It was by these arts he continued his authority, first cemented by blood, and maintained by hypocrisy and usurpation.

Yet, notwithstanding this conduct, which contributed to render him truly formidable at home, he was, after a few years reign, become truly miserable to himself. He knew that he was detested by every party in the kingdom, he knew the fierce spirit of the people whom he had made slaves; and he was incessantly haunted by the terrors of an assassination. To increase his calamity, a book was published, intitled, *Killing no murder*; in which it was proved to be just to destroy him at any rate. *Shall we*, said this popular declaimer, *who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf?* Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and, it is said, was never seen to smile afterwards. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept a loaded pistol in his pocket; his aspect became cloudy, and he regarded every stranger with

with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry and precipitation, and never slept two nights successively in the same apartment. A tertian ague came at last to deliver him from a life of horror and misery. He died at Whitehall, after having faintly nominated his son Richard Cromwell as his successor. Notwithstanding the evident approaches of death, he affirmed that he should recover. *I tell you*, cried he to the physicians that attended him, *I shall not die of this distemper; favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord.* This behaviour, at his death, is an undeniable proof that he was in reality more an enthusiast than an hypocrite; and, in fact, we are more frequently deceived than deceivers*.

The death of Cromwell was generally considered as making way for some signal revolution, and every one expected that the disjointed and unwieldy body, which his powerful arm alone had upheld and supported, would now instantly fall. Richard Cromwell, though destined to succeed his father, had neither been initiated into the mysteries of government, nor possessed a mind calculated to conduct the affairs of a great nation: he had received a circumscribed education in the country; where he had contracted a fondness for unambitious privacy: as he had never been trained to arms, so was he unknown to those officers of the army, who had for some time dictated to the people the man whom they should nominate for their ruler. Notwithstanding all these circumstances public affairs did not immediately take that turn which was apprehended. The council recognized the succession of Richard, general Fleetwood, who had married a

* Goldsmith.

daughter

daughter of the late protector, renounced all claim or pretension to the vacant dignity, although it was supposed that Cromwell had formerly made a will in his favour. Henry Cromwell, the brother of Richard, who governed Ireland with great popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom; General Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, immediately proclaimed the new protector there. Admiral Lawson, who had succeeded Montagu in the command of the fleet, concurred in the same measures, and the navy followed the example of its head; and what was of still more essential consequence, the army was disposed the same way. More than ninety addresses were presented to Richard from the counties, and most considerable corporations, congratulating him on his accession, and strongly professing their allegiance. Foreign ministers transferred to him the respect they had paid his father; and Richard Cromwell, whose placid mind, rendered him free from the turmoils of ambition, was led to accept the rich inheritance, which the general voice conferred upon him.

None but determined and vigorous minds can settle and subjugate the boisterous rage of party to a compliance with their wishes and their views. Even the consummate address of Oliver himself, would scarcely have been capable of supporting, for many years longer, that power which he had acquired by the subversion of every valuable privilege which the people had claimed from their kings, and bravely fought for. The influence of novel opinions will be powerful for a while, but must soon yield to the empire of common sense, which, though frequently subverted, is sure at length to gain the ascendancy. Richard Cromwell possessed none of those arts which were requisite to gain an enthusi-

astic army. He had been but a short time invested with that authority, for which he possessed no one quality but probity of heart, before the turbulent military grew discontented at some promotions which he had made. "Would you have me," said he, "prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsbey, who can neither pray nor preach, yet will I trust him before you all*." This levity of discourse gave great offence. Lambert, a man of considerable influence, was a fomentor of these discontents, insomuch that some of the protector's adherents proposed to him, the putting an end to these intrigues, by the death of Lambert; upon which Richard, too good to force himself into greatness, expressed his utter abhorrence of the design, and declared he would never acquire power by such sanguinary and unwarrantable acts.

The new parliament, which had been assembled on the accession of Richard, could not patiently bear the arbitrary mandates of the military; an open rupture soon broke out between the army and the representatives of the people, and in this confusion of the state, Richard Cromwell chose to resign his authority. Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the same moderate disposition as his brother Richard, but possessed more vigour and capacity; his ambition however did not lead him to enter into a doubtful contest for power, he therefore threw up his command, and retired to England.

"Thus fell," says Mr. Hume, "suddenly, and from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to possess an estate which

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

was moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years; and at Penezas, in Languedoc, he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of the affairs of England, broke out into admiration of Cromwell's courage and capacity; but as for that poor, pitiful fellow, Richard, said he, what has become of him? How could he be such a blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from his father's crimes and successes! Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and lived to the latter end of queen Ann's reign. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompence more precious than noisy fame, and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity *."

The military power soon gained the superiority over the civil, on the removal of the protector, who, whilst in authority, had lent his feeble aid to the parliament. These statesmen of the sword determined to replace the Rump-parliament which had beheaded Charles, and which the late protector had so ignominiously dismissed.

One of the first steps taken by this parliament was, to pull down the power of that very army, which had just now invested them with their authority. They new-modelled a part of the forces, cashiered such officers as they feared, and placed others in their room. These attempts however did not pass without vigorous efforts in the principal officers who were at London to oppose them. They held several conferences together to strengthen their power, and lessen that of their opposers.

* History of England, Vol. VII. p. 298.

They at length came to the usual resource of these turbulent times ; they first presented a seditious petition, and, upon finding it rejected, conducted by general Lambert, they entered the house, excluded the members, dissolved the parliament by their own authority, and formed a council of ten to provide for the safety of the commonwealth. During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of twelve thousand veterans in Scotland. In the anarchy and confusion which then prevailed, he seemed agitated by different designs, between loyalty to his king, ambition to advance himself, and the apprehensions he was under from the governing part of the nation ; his loyalty at length prevailed ; he resolved to restore the royal family, but to use all the precautions that were requisite for their safety, and his own. He soon had an opportunity of embarrassing the affairs of the nation still more, to prepare the way for the meditated revolution. The officers, now formed into a council of ten, had sent to treat with him ; he consented to a negotiation only in order to gain time ; and after a treaty had been actually signed by those he employed in this business, he refused to ratify it upon frivolous pretences. The deposed parliament, finding that Monk had disapproved of the proceedings of the officers at London, were resolved to avail themselves of his friendship, in order to be reinstated in their former authority ; and sent him a private commission, appointing him commander in chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He now therefore resolved to march towards London, and upon his approach, the officers who had deposed the parliament found themselves almost deserted, and at length compelled to resign the authority they had usurped. When he reached St. Alban's, he sent a letter to the house, desiring that the

the city of London should be cleared of all other troops to accommodate those at the head of which he was approaching. This demand awakened the suspicion of the parliament, but they were reluctantly obliged to comply. He entered London in triumph, at the head of his army, and repaired to the council of state, but refused to take the path of abjuration, shrewdly observing, that the fewer oaths were taken, the cleaner would the consciences be. He next examined his officers, and, having secured their concurrence, he restored those members to the parliament, which had been secluded so long as before the trial of the king.

The independents, who had voted for the trial of Charles, were now greatly outnumbered; and it was soon seen that the royal party was likely to prevail. The republicans, who, though they hated a protector, still more feared the royal resentment, endeavoured to persuade Monk to assume the sovereign power, in imitation of Cromwell. He rejected their advice, and in the mean time gave the king private intimations of his designs, new-modelled the army, quelled an incipient insurrection, and prepared all things for his restoration.

Nothing now was wanting, but the authority and consent of a free parliament, to settle the fluctuating constitution. On the 25th of April, 1660, the new parliament met in both houses, after the manner of their ancestors. They immediately voted that the government ought to be vested in a king, lords, and commons. On the 8th of May Charles II. was proclaimed in London; on the 26th he arrived at Dover; on the 29th he passed on to Whitehall, through an innumerable multitude of people, who rent the air with their acclamations. The wretched kingdom, long torn with faction, and oppressed by its own struggles for freedom, once more began to respire. The

The king's restoration was greatly farthered by the assistance which the fleet lent to the royal cause. As soon as Monk's design of bringing back the royal fugitive began to ripen, he procured Montagu to be appointed high admiral, who was well disposed to that re-establishment. On the 4th of April 1660, he publicly declared his principles to the fleet, which he found generally inclined to concur in them; immediately upon which he sailed, unauthorized, to the coast of Holland, and taking the king on board, returned with him to England.

Before we close this chapter, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of such matters as relate to trade and commerce, during the time of which it treats.

In the year 1655 the Jews found means to persuade Cromwell to re-admit them to settle in England, although the long parliament had before refused it. It was now three hundred and sixty-five years since their expulsion by Edward the First*. Cromwell was induced hereto by the representations which these people made to him of the extraordinary benefits which commerce would derive thereby. Menassah Ben Israel, an eminent Jew, who styled himself a divine, and a doctor of physic, addressed the protector and commonwealth in behalf of his people; he stated, that allowing them an asylum in England, would increase the public revenue one hundred thousand pounds per annum; in opposition to this the famous Prynne, and several others, published treatises.

We learn from Scobel, that the whole charge of the public in 1656 in England, was fixed at one million three hundred thousand pounds; of which revenue a million was appropriated for the support

* See Vol. I. p. 102.

of the army and navy; the other three hundred thousand pounds was expended on the civil government*. No part of this sum was raised by a land-tax. The chief taxes in England during the commonwealth were, the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes ten thousand pounds a month, commonly six thousand. Those on Ireland were nine thousand. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong waters, and many other commodities. After the civil wars were ended, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656; Cromwell, the next year, farmed both customs and excise for eleven hundred thousand pounds, a greater sum than they had ever produced before†. Mr. Hume supposes the whole of the taxes during that period, might, at a medium, amount to two millions a year; a sum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king. The same writer states the revenue of Charles I. from 1637 to the meeting of the long parliament, to be, on an average of each year, nine hundred thousand pounds, of which two hundred thousand pounds may be called illegal‡.

The commerce and industry of England increased extremely, during the peaceable part of Charles's reign: the trade to the East-Indies, and to Guinea, became considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey. The civil wars and convulsions, whilst they continued, greatly obstructed the progress of commerce; but it soon

* Scobell's Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, cap. 6.
 loc's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 425.

† Thur-
 History of England,
 Vol. VII. p. 338.

began

began to flow with freedom, upon the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the trade of so formidable a rival; served to encourage trade in England; the Spanish war was, to an equal degree, pernicious: all the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, being confiscated in Spain, and that kingdom being supplied with the merchandize which it consumed from other states. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants and manufacturers; and trade and merchandize has, ever since, been more honourable professions in England, than in any other European kingdom. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament, during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative, whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty*.

Before the commencement of the civil wars, the English East-India Company are said to have employed fifteen thousand tons of shipping; but afterwards that trade greatly declined; and from the year 1653 to 1657, a kind of open trade was carried on from England to the east, which greatly affected the merchants who traded on the joint stock. In what manner this free trade benefited those who embarked in it is not certainly handed down to us. Some maintain, that during those four years, when the East-India trade was laid open, the commodities brought from India were sold so cheap that the English supplied more parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself therewith, than they ever did

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 340.

afterwards,

afterwards, whêreby they very much sunk the Dutch East-India Company's actions. On the other hand it is asserted, and pretty generally believed, that even the separate traders themselves were losers in the end, and by their want of authority and power, traded with the natives to great disadvantage.

In the year 1653 the postage in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was farmed for ten thousand pounds yearly; by this settlement single letters carried as far as eighty miles, paid two-pence, and double ones four-pence; beyond eighty miles three-pence, and double ones six-pence.

About this time coals from Newcastle were usually sold at above twenty shillings the chaldron in London, and more than nine hundred sail of ships were employed in that trade. Three hundred and twenty keels, or lighters, were supposed to be employed at Newcastle, each of which carried yearly eight hundred chaldrons of coals, Newcastle measure, on board the ships; one hundred and thirty-six of such chaldrons of coals are reckoned equal to two hundred and seventeen chaldrons of London measure. The consumption of this article of fuel, supposing the calculation to be accurately made, amounted, in the year 1655, to sixty-nine thousand four hundred and forty chaldrons of London measure*.

Very soon after the peace between England and Holland was ratified, the Dutch West-India Company dispossessed the Swedes of a colony which they had settled in North-America, having purchased it of the natives†: this acquisition, which the Swedish resident in Holland solicited the restitution of in vain, they named New-Netherlands, and is the same as the English have since called New-

* England's Grievance discovered, in relation to the Coal-trade, published in 1655.

† Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. V. p. 81.



York. Some affirm, that James the First granted to the states of Holland, an island on that coast, as a watering-place for their West-India fleets, which was thereupon called Staten, or Staten-Inland*.

In the year 1658, cardinal Mazarine being informed that the court of Spain, with a view to detach Cromwell from the interest of France, and to terminate the difference between England and Spain, had proposed to assist him in the conquest of Calais for England; to counteract this design, he convinced the protector of the superior advantage which the possession of Dunkirk would render to England; whereupon Sir William Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador at the court of France, signed a convention with that minister, whereby it was stipulated, that Dunkirk, Mardyke, and Gravelins, should be attacked by the combined armies of France and England, and when taken, should be put into the protector's hands. That same summer it was taken, and delivered up agreeably to the treaty. Voltaire informs us, that Mazarine endeavoured to evade the treaty, when he became possessed of the place; at which Lockhart was incensed, and threatened; and brought Italian chicanery to yield to English positiveness†. This acquisition was regarded by the protector, only as the means of acquiring farther conquests. He was resolved to concert measures with the French court, for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries. Sir William Temple says, his view was to wrest Calais from the French, as he had Dunkirk from the Spaniards; but death put a stop to these schemes, which ever they were. The Dutch were extremely alarmed at the English being now masters of both sides of the Channel; and the French court soon

* See page 18.

† *Siege de Louis*, Vol. 2. p. 76.

saw how dangerous Dunkirk would prove in any other hands than their own, and more especially in the possession of England.

The first introduction of the sugar-cane into the English West-India settlements, is said to be in the year 1641, when they were brought from Fer-rambuc, in the Brasils, and planted in Barbadoes, where they proved successful, after some years cultivation. The value of land on that island increased rapidly, when this branch of trade came to be introduced there; a plantation of five hundred acres, which before might have been purchased for four hundred pounds sterling, in a few years after was supposed to be worth fourteen thousand pounds. By the cultivation of the sugar-cane, many fortunes were rapidly made; so that men carrying a few hundred pounds with them there, in a few years have amassed one hundred thousand pounds sterling*. Such success encouraged many people to go there from England; the merchants at home fitted out more ships, and freighted them with provisions, tools, cloathing, and all other necessaries, in exchange for which they received the produce of the island; and this being the first of our colonies which adopted the plantation of sugar, it greatly hastened the improvement of the other Caribbee islands, which soon followed the example of Barbadoes, in planting the sugar-cane, to very great advantage. As it was not possible to cultivate this commodity by white people in so hot a climate, so neither were they sufficiently numerous for such purposes; necessity therefore, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the slave-trade, from the coast of Guinea. The increased population in those islands soon created a vast demand for all ne-

* Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

cessaries from England, and also a new and considerable trade to Madeira for wines. The mother-country, at this time, laid no restraints on this infant trade, but for several years it remained open to all nations. After the restoration indeed, the parliament observing the great detriment which the kingdom suffered by such an open trade, restrained it to none but natives of England, by several acts of navigation; whereby the ports of London and Bristol became the great marts for sugar, and from thence the northern and middle parts of Europe were supplied. This reduced the Portugal sugars of Brasil, in a short time, so low, as from eight pounds to two pounds ten shillings per hundred weight; and in this prosperous state the trade remained until the French, in their turn, so greatly improved their sugar-islands, as to be able to undersell us in most parts of Europe*.

Dr. Charles Davenant gives us the entire coinage of England, for a century of years, viz. 1558 to 1659, which he took from the registers of the royal mint.

G O L D C O I N E D,

In queen Elizabeth's reign,	—	£. 1,200,000
In king James the First's reign,	}	800,000
about		
In king Charles the First's reign,		1,723,000

Total gold coined, £. 3,723,000

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 72.

S I L V E R

SILVER COINED.

		£.
In queen Elizabeth's reign,	—	4,632,932
In king James the First's reign,	—	1,700,000
In king Charles the First's reign,	—	8,776,544
By the parliament and Cromwell,	—	1,000,000
		<hr/>
Total silver coined,	—	16,109,476
Total gold coined,	—	3,723,000
		<hr/>
Total of the coinage in England,	}	19,832,476
from 1558 to 1659,		

The same author conjectures, that in the year 1600, our gold and silver coin together, did not exceed four millions; and that at the time he wrote, (1711) there were twelve millions of gold and silver coin in circulation*.

* New Dialogues on the present Posture of Affairs.



CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

The Naval History of Great-Britain, during the Reign of Charles II. with a brief Enumeration of the most memorable public Events during that Period—New Ministry—Tonnage and Poundage granted to the King—Navigation-Act—Trial and Execution of the Regicides—Episcopacy restored—Act of Uniformity—The King's Marriage—Presbyterian Clergy ejected—Dunkirk sold to the French—The King ruled by the Dukes of Cleveland—War with the Dutch—First royal Charter to Carolina—Sir Robert Holmes sent against the Dutch—Naval Victory gained by the English under the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and Earl of Sandwich—War with France—War with Denmark—Sea-fight of four Days—Sir George Ayscue's Ship taken—Victory obtained by the English—Fire of London—Island of Antigua settled—Disaster at Chatham—Peace of Breda—Disgrace and Banishment of Clarendon—Triple Alliance—Balance of England's Commerce—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—The Ministry distinguished by the Name of Cabal—Charles deserts his Triple Alliance, and leagues with France—Influence of the Dukes of Portsmouth over the King—Duke of York professes himself of the Romish Communion—Progress of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland—Suspension of the Navigation-Act—Attack of the Smyrna Fleet—War with the Dutch—Battle of Solbay—The Earl of Sandwich slain—The combined Fleets of France and England engage the Dutch Fleet on their Coasts—A second Engagement—Sea-fight at the Mouth of the Texel—Congress of Cologne—Peace with Holland—Secret Treaty with

with France, and a Pension from thence to Charles—State of the Woollen Manufacture in England—Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary—Alliance with the Dutch—Rise of the Colony of Pennsylvania—Limitations on a Popish Succession—Habeas Corpus Act passed—Origin of the Appellation of Whig and Tory—Meal-Tub Plot—Exclusion Bill—French Protestants repair to England, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Their Improvement of Manufactures—Great Power of the Crown—Jealousies between the King and People—Rye-house Plot—Trial and Execution of Lord Russel and Algernon Sydney—Death of Prince Rupert—The Lady Anne married to Prince George of Denmark—Foreign Affairs—Death of Charles II.

CHARLES the Second was in the thirtieth year of his age when he took possession of the throne. The misfortunes which he had suffered during his long and painful exile, now strongly excited the tenderness of the nation in his favour; it had likewise given him such an opportunity of cultivating his natural talents, as an uninterrupted course of prosperity would not have afforded him. But, unhappily for the nation which he governed, Charles was too volatile to be wise; he had too much wit for a statesman, and was too dissipated for a king. These capital defects were however only to be discovered by his future conduct, and no prince ever possessed the external requisites for gaining esteem in greater perfection. Easy, polite, and lively in his conversation and address; these engaging manners he had acquired by living among his courtiers during his exile, rather on the footing of a companion, than a monarch. The first object that engrossed the king's attention after his restoration, was

was the choice of his council, into which, though it chiefly consisted of zealous royalists, he, from political views, admitted some chiefs of the presbyterian party. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, and admiral Montagu earl of Sandwich. The king shifted the burden of public business, in a good measure, from his own shoulders, on those of his brother the duke of York, who was an indefatigable drudge, with a very circumscribed capacity; he was proud, vindictive, arbitrary, and bigotted to the Roman catholic religion, which he had embraced during his exile. The king himself is said to have been a convert to that persuasion, though this was a circumstance he carefully concealed; and indeed he seemed to laugh at all forms of religion.

The assembly of lords and commons were now called "The Convention," until the king, on the third day after his arrival, went to the upper house, and sending for the commons, passed an act, whereupon it was declared a parliament. A bill of indemnity was immediately framed, in which only forty-nine persons, who had sat in judgment on the late king, were excluded from that general pardon which was granted thereby.

When Charles gave his assent to this act, he passed another, confirming all the judiciary proceedings during the civil war; a third for levying a capitation-tax, to pay the fleet and army; a fourth fixing the rate of interest for money at six per cent. and a fifth, ordaining that the anniversary of his restoration should be observed as a perpetual holiday. The parliament then proceeded to vote the king a revenue of one million two hundred thousand pounds a year, a greater sum than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed; the duties of tonnage and poundage were settled; and, in the same session,

session, an act passed for the general encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation, which gave a legal sanction to a similar act passed by the parliament.

During the adjournment of parliament, the king appointed commissioners to proceed upon the trials of the regicides; the number of whom, including the officers of the court, and others immediately concerned therein, amounted at first to ninety. Of these twenty-five were dead; twenty-nine had fled the kingdom; seven were considered as proper objects of the king's mercy; twenty-nine received sentence of death, nineteen of whom were reprieved during the king's pleasure, because they had surrendered themselves according to proclamation. The ten appointed to immediate execution, were Harrison, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel. Scrope had come in upon the king's proclamation. General Harrison, when brought to his trial, with great courage, and elevation of sentiment, told the court, that the pretended crime of which he stood accused, was not a deed done in a corner; the sound of it had gone forth to most nations, and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeased the sovereign power of heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the divine majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: he had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations upon earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness, compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent illapses of the divine spirit, he

could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, or all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwell, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant; that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne; when offered riches, splendor, and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations, and flighting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles, and his integrity*. All those who suffered on this account bore their fate, not merely with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their deaths. The executioner, not content with performing his bloody office, added insult to the tortures he inflicted; whilst the sufferers, to a man, thanked God for being permitted to die for his cause, and braved the fury of their adversaries with manly contempt. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into a fire, whilst he was yet alive: his head was fixed upon the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked him insultingly, how he liked that work? Peters eyed him with disdain, saying, "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

The parliament likewise ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, to be taken

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 357.

out of their graves, dragged through the streets to tyburn, and there to be hung a whole day. After which they were taken down, and buried under the gallows.

The monarchy of England being now re-established, the settlement of the church presently succeeded. During the recess of parliament, the king published a proclamation on the subject of religion, directed a certain number of ecclesiastics to review and alter the liturgy, but compelled no one to conform to the rites of the church. Nine of the old bishops, who were all that remained alive, were restored to their dioceses. But though the bishops were restored to their spiritual authority, they were still excluded from their seats in parliament, by a law which had been passed by the late king, just before the breaking out of the civil wars; but soon after this act was repealed, and these ecclesiastical lords reinstated in all their ancient privileges and honours.

It was now feared, that the tide of loyalty would bear down all the former mounds of freedom; the parliament seemed to concur in all the designs of the court, and even to anticipate its wishes. During the time that the parliament and the protectors governed the kingdom, all magistrates that were suspected of disaffection, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refused to subscribe the covenant. The parliament now took a different course; they empowered the king to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either intruded themselves by violence, or possessed principles dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should disclaim the obligation of the covenant,

D d 2

and

and should declare, both their belief that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to resist the king, and their abhorrence of the traiterous position of taking arms, by the king's authority, against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him.

The moderation which had at first been shewn to those who dissented from episcopacy, soon began to be laid aside, and a rigorous spirit of intollorance succeeded it. A bill was brought into parliament, to prosecute the quakers for refusing to take oaths in courts of judicature; which was soon followed by another, establishing uniformity in public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments. By this statute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day 1662, every minister was obliged to conform to the worship of the church of England, according to the book of Common Prayer lately revised, and to sign a declaration approving of that ritual; to take the oath of canonical obedience, adjure the solemn league and covenant, and acknowledge his detestation of the principle of taking up arms against the king, or those acting by his commission, on any pretence whatsoever. The parliament gave a farther proof of their zeal to the king, by voting an annual tax of two shillings upon every hearth, to his majesty and his successors: this imposition, joined to that of tonnage and poundage, the excise, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater sum than had ever been granted to any of his predeceffors.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between Charles, and the Infanta Catharine of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the Island of Bombay, in the East-Indies, and the city of Tangier, in Africa, a fleet was sent, under the command of the

the earl of Sandwich, to bring over the queen, and to take possession of Tangiers. Besides these avowed purposes, for which this armament was sent out, it was farther designed to chastise the Algerine corsairs, for their infraction of the treaty entered into with Blake. For this purpose, the earl appeared with his fleet before Algiers, the 29th of July, 1661, and sent an officer to the dey with a letter from the king, accompanied with one from himself. These remonstrances, and this armament, made no impression on that state. It seemed even to set the English admiral, and his force, at defiance, by putting the port and castles in the best state of defence. Sandwich hereupon attempted to set fire to the ships in the harbour, but the wind being unfavourable to the attempt, after a furious cannonading on both sides, without any essential hurt being done to either, the English admiral thought fit to desist; and leaving Sir John Lawson to cruise, with a strong squadron, off the harbour, to protect the English trade, and harraßs the enemy, he sailed, with the rest of his fleet, for Lisbon. The vigilance of Lawson on this station annoyed the Algerines more than the attack upon their port; for so many of their ships were taken, that they were at last compelled to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, and to give up all right of searching its ships; but this treaty, like the former one, was not long observed*.

Though the crown was now firmly fixed on the head of Charles, yet those who had formerly adhered to his interests, even in the most perilous times, and who had made the greatest sacrifices by their adherence to the cause of royalty, were now suffered to pine away in obscurity and indigence. Charles

* Burchet's Naval History.

was too profligate to be grateful ; his pleasures, his flatterers, and his concubines, engrossed all his attention, and exhausted his finances. The unhappy cavaliers murmured without redress ; he fled from their gloomy expostulations, to mirth, riot, and festivity. In short, the whole kingdom had caught the contagion of the court, and seemed now to be converted into a theatre of debauchery, as it had before been made a scene of blood. The independents were no longer important ; the presbyterians were laid under severe restraints. The horrors of the late war furnished matter for sportive raillery ; the formality and the hypocrisy of sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at in the pulpit. The king had no religion ; and though he permitted the persecution of sectaries, it was merely from political motives.

Eagerly as the English parliament seemed to court the favour of their prince, the Scotch were still more sanguine in their expressions of attachment : had Charles been a politic and active monarch, he might now have become an absolute one ; but he discarded matters of state for scenes of revelry. Notwithstanding the liberal provision which the parliament had made for their king, still his prodigality rendered him indigent ; and instead of desiring an ascendancy over his parliament, he was content to be dependent on their bounty. His prodigality, his libertinism, and the familiarity with which he permitted himself to be treated by his subjects, soon began to alter their sentiments, from a veneration for royalty, to a contempt of his person and administration ; and this was presently increased, by a shameful sacrifice of the interest of the nation, for his private advantage. In consideration of five millions of livres, (about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling) he delivered up to Louis XIV. of France,

France, the town and port of Dunkirk; and likewise the fort of Mardyke, together with all the artillery, arms, ammunition, &c. The excuse which Charles gave to his parliament for this conduct was, that as it had been surrendered to Cromwell, an usurper, he had a right to dispose of it as he pleased. This destructive bargain was concluded at London, by the count D'Estrades, on the side of France, and the earl of Clarendon, chancellor, the earl of Southampton, lord-treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, who had received a commission from the king for that purpose. The latter of these noblemen at first proposed the absolute demolition of Dunkirk, and the filling up and destroying its harbour, in such a manner, as to render it for ever useless; but this was not insisted on in the farther prosecution of the business. No sooner had the French king taken possession of this important place, than he employed thirty thousand men to work upon the fortifications, on the side towards the land, as well as those to the sea: he likewise formed, between the town and citadel, a large basin, capable of receiving thirty ships of war; so that, says Voltaire, this place became a terror to the English, almost as soon as they had sold it*.

The king's marriage had laid no sort of restraint on his indiscriminate amours; his queen, though a virtuous princess, could never gain the affection of her husband; he had been captivated by her portion, and having secured that, was quite indifferent to the woman. At this time his favourite mistress was Mrs. Palmer, whom he afterwards created duchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, and revengeful †. She

* October 27, 1662. *Siecle de Louis*, chap. 6.
Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 392.

† Hume's

entertained

entertained a strong dislike to Clarendon, who was a man too tenacious of the dignity of his own character to pay his court to this haughty concubine. Out of revenge for such neglect of the minister, she exerted all her influence with the king to undermine this his trusty servant; and in the attempt she was so successful as to lay the foundation of his after disgrace.

About this time Charles granted a charter to eight noblemen and gentlemen, of the noble colony of Carolina, which remained to that time unplanted, although, in the year 1629, some efforts had been made from England for that purpose. The limits described in this first charter were, from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, being the southern extremity of Virginia, to the thirty-first degree, or the south-end of modern Georgia, along the Atlantic Ocean; and stretching westward, without limitation, to the South-Seas. This land, which the king, in his charter, declares to be a part of his dominions in America, he grants them in absolute propriety, with all royal mines, fisheries, &c. paying a quit-rent of twenty marks yearly.

In the month of April 1664, the house of commons having taken into consideration the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs, indignities, and affronts offered by the Dutch in the East and West-Indies, as well as on the coast of Africa, to the subjects of England, had, in a great measure, obstructed the trade of the nation. They thereupon farther voted, that his majesty should be entreated to procure reparation for those wrongs, and take measures for preventing such injuries for the future; for which purpose the two houses would assist him to their utmost, against all opposers. This was a prelude to a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined,

determined, as he sought an opportunity of spending upon his pleasures, a part of those sums which should be granted him by parliament for the support of a fleet and army. The charges alledged against the Dutch were extremely frivolous; they were accused of having taken English ships in the East-Indies; but they pleaded that those ships had been employed in carrying on a clandestine trade; and the States had actually deposited a sum of money, exceeding the value of them, until the English court of Admiralty could determine the merits of the cause: so that it is plain, the war did not owe its origin to such causes. There were yet other considerations besides the poverty of the crown, which concurred in producing this rupture with Holland: Charles delighted in ship-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy, that should give law to all the maritime states in Europe; the duke of York ardently wished for an opportunity to display his courage and skill in his department of lord high-admiral against the Dutch, whom he hated; not only for the republican principles which they entertained, but as being a principal support to the protestant religion: the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as their most dangerous rivals in commerce; and the Royal African Company, at the head of which was the duke of York, had been thwarted by these Hollanders, in their designs of fixing settlements to promote and serve their trade on the coast of Guinea*.

Hostilities broke out between these two rival powers in Africa and America, without any formal declaration of war on either side. Sir Robert Holmes was sent out with a fleet to the coast of Africa, where he dispossessed the Dutch of several

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 27.

forts near Cape Verd; but all these possessions De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, the year after, re-took. The English admiral erected a new fort at the mouth of the river Gambia, and named it Jamesfort; and this is still possessed by the English.

These actions served to exasperate the two states, and to precipitate a war, which, accordingly, was declared by the Dutch in January, and by the English in February 1664-5. Great preparations were made for war; the city of London lent the king one hundred thousand pounds, and when he represented that sum as inadequate to the purposes it was meant to serve, they readily advanced a like sum. A great fleet was fitted out under the command of the duke of York, prince Rupert, and the earl of Sandwich, which sailing over to the coasts of Holland, struck an universal terror into the Dutch; notwithstanding, they also had assembled a capital fleet under their admiral Opdam, but they dared not put to sea with it, and face the English. While their harbours were thus blocked up, a great part of their fleet from Bourdeaux, in its way home, fell into the hands of the English, who, in a few weeks, took above one hundred and thirty of their merchant-ships*. About this time a Dutch fleet, richly laden, from Smyrna, was attacked near Cadiz, by vice-admiral Allen, with nine men of war, and frigates. The Dutch force consisted in forty merchant-ships, large, and well provided with ordnance, and four third-rate men of war. In the engagement the Dutch commodore, Brackel, was killed, and four of the richest ships taken; one of which afterwards foundered at sea. The rest were forced into the bay of Cadiz, where they were, for some time, blocked up.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 398.

After

After the grand fleet of England had lain on the coasts of Holland for a month, a violent storm so shattered it, as to force it into port to refit. The Dutch availed themselves of this opportunity to proceed to sea, in seven squadrons; Opdam, baron de Wassenauer, commanded the first, which was composed of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ships; John Everts commanded the second, which was equal in force; the third was led by admiral Cortenaer, and consisted of fourteen men of war, and one fire-ship; the fourth was under Stillinguert, composed likewise of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ship; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, son of the brave and memorable admiral of that name, with sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships; the sixth, under Cornelius Everts, consisted of fourteen men of war, and a fire-ship; the last, commanded by Schram, in which were sixteen men of war, and two fire-ships; in all, one hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ships, together with seven yachts. The English fleet consisted of one hundred and fourteen sail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire-ships and ketches, and had about twenty-two thousand seamen and soldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high-admiral; prince Rupert was vice-admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue.

Soon after the Dutch fleet had put to sea, they fell in with the English Hamburg fleet, which supposing the duke of York, with his fleet, to be still on their station, fell into the hands of the Dutch, together with their convoy; the value of the whole was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds.

The duke, highly incensed at this loss, resolved to revenge it on the enemy; and, with a view to bring them to an engagement, weighed anchor from Solébay, the 1st of June. The English fleet

was divided into three squadrons; the first, under the red flag, was commanded by the duke himself, assisted by the admirals Penn and Lawson; the second, being the white squadron, was under the conduct of prince Rupert, assisted by Minns and Sampson; and the third, which was the blue squadron, was under the command of the earl of Sandwich, who had with him Cuttins, and Sir George Ayscue. They got sight of the Dutch fleet the same day, not far from Harwich; but the wind being southerly, and the next morning south-west, they retired before our fleet to the mouth of the Maese: from thence Opdam sent an express to the States, giving the reason for his retreat, and informing them, that he did not judge it proper to fall upon the English, while they had the advantage of the wind. In answer to which the States sent him positive orders, to engage at all events*.

Opdam resolved to obey the orders of his masters, though contrary to the opinion and advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion. "I am," said he, (on hearing the judgment of a council of war) "entirely in your sentiment, but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel, or with cypress†." And in this disposition he advanced towards the English fleet.

This memorable battle began on the 3d of June, at three in the morning, and was furiously supported on both sides till noon, without any material advantage gained by either. The earl of Sandwich, with the blue squadron, first gave a turn to the fortune of the day, by falling into the centre of the Dutch fleet, and separating it into two parts. This threw the enemy into such confusion, as brought on a general flight. Meanwhile the duke of York;

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 576.
Vol. I. p. 741.

† Basnage Annales, &c.

in the Royal Charles, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam, in the *Eeendracht*, of eighty-four guns, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, during which the duke was exposed to great danger. The earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, second son to the earl of Burlington, were all killed by his side, by the same chain-shot, and were so near the duke at the time, that he was covered with their blood and brains; and the Dutch writers say, that a splinter of Mr. Boyle's skull wounded him in the hand. In the heat of this desperate action the Dutch admiral blew up, and of five hundred men, among which were a great number of volunteers, of the best families in Holland, only five were saved. Soon after this fatal stroke to the Dutch, four of their choicest ships, from sixty to forty guns, ran foul of each other, and were set on fire, and consumed by one fire-ship; three still larger men of war soon after shared the same fate, by the same means. The *Orange*, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence, was also burnt, with four hundred men on board, by captain Smith, of the *Mary*. By this time the whole Dutch fleet seemed to be but one blaze, and the cries of so many miserable wretches, who were perishing either by fire or water, forced the most inflexible to pity. The English rendered all the assistance in their power to their vanquished enemy, while, with redoubled fury, they assailed the rest. Two of the Dutch vice-admirals, Stellingaert and Cortenaer, were killed. Their ships bearing out of the line without striking their flags, on the deaths of their commanders, drew many after them; so that by eight at night, Tromp, who still bravely maintained the fight, and that even whilst retreating, had not above thirty ships to support him.

This

This was the most signal victory the English ever gained, and the severest blow the Dutch ever felt at sea. The Dutch are reckoned to have had eighteen ships taken, and fourteen sunk in the action, besides such as were sunk and blown up; they lost six thousand men, upwards of two thousand of whom were made prisoners, sixteen of whom were captains. On the side of the English only one ship was lost; the *Charity*, of forty-six guns: no more than two hundred and fifty men were killed, and about three hundred and forty wounded; but many of high rank fell in this action, besides those already named; such as the earls of Portland and Marlborough, rear-admiral Sampson, and vice-admiral Lawton; the latter of whom died of a wound he received in his knee, although he survived the battle*.

It is affirmed, and with some appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, an attendant upon the duke, whilst his highness slept, and who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders, but Brounker was never sufficiently punished for his presumption. Dutch writers express their astonishment, that the English did not push on their good fortune; and seem to acknowledge, that had they done so, the whole Dutch fleet must have become their prey†. The duke of York sailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thanksgiving to be observed all over England for this victory; and medals were struck in honour of the duke of York, who thereupon be-

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 398.
History, p. 578.

† Lediard's Naval

came

came the idol of the nation, and began to be respected as the presumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was supposed barren, and almost totally neglected by her husband. The king and council would not suffer the duke to expose his person to the danger of a second engagement; whereupon the command of the fleet devolved upon the earl of Sandwich.

On the return of the Dutch Turkey and India fleet, which chose to take the northern route, in hopes of avoiding the English fleet under the earl of Sandwich; which fleet, July the 5th, steered from Southwold Bay (into which they put after the engagement on the 3d of June, 1665) for the coast of Holland, with a design to intercept these merchant-ships when entering their ports. But they having intelligence at sea, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the English navy, took shelter in the port of Berghen, in Norway*. The port was not difficult of access, being only covered by an old castle; the Danish governor assured the Dutch of all the protection in his power to give, and they were willing to contribute their strength in aid of it. In order to this they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were disposed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line cross the bay, consisting of their largest ships; in this posture they waited for the English. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman, his rear-admiral, with fourteen sail of men of war, and three fire-ships, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was against them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from

* Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

the.

the castle, the line, and the ships; so that at last he was forced to bear out of the bay; and this he performed without the loss of a ship, though he had five or six very ill treated.

The Dutch were thrown into the utmost consternation by the defeat of their grand fleet, and demanded of De Witt, who was the soul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He therefore went on board the fleet, which he took under his command, and soon recovered his country from the disorder into which they had been thrown. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had been educated in them from his infancy; and he even made improvements in some parts of pilotage and sailing beyond what men, expert in those arts, had ever been able to attain*. Admiral De Ruyter had the command of this fleet, though De Witt was the main spring that gave motion to the whole.

No sooner was the Dutch fleet again ready for sea, than it proceeded to succour their East-India fleet, then lying at Bergen, and to bring it home in safety. The king of Denmark had acted a very extraordinary part in the quarrel between England and Holland. He made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils* with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he had perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; but we have seen the repulse which the English received when they made their attack upon the Hollanders; after which the Danish governor demanded of the

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 404.

Dutch

Dutch one hundred thousand crowns for the assistance he had given them in that affair; and threatened to sink them, if they attempted to sail without first paying this debt. The arrival of De Ruyter's fleet before Berghen, lowered the tone of the governor, and the Dutch merchantmen were permitted to sail without paying the sum which had been before exacted. On their return to Holland the fleet was scattered by a storm, which sunk two fire-ships, and some of the merchantmen. The vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the East-India fleet, ships of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five English frigates, which the same storm had separated from the fleet to which they belonged; and soon after four Dutch men of war, two fire-ships, and thirty merchantmen, joined the English fleet instead of their own, and were captured; which ended the operations of the year 1665.

Louis XIV. beheld, with pleasure, the two maritime powers mutually destroying each other, by the most obstinate combats that were ever fought; the only consequences from which were, the weakening of both parties*. By the signal successes which had attended the English arms on the ocean this year, France began to apprehend either the total ruin of Holland, or that the States would be obliged to accede to any peace which their conquerors might think fit to dictate. To prevent either of these consequences, the French court openly declared in favour of Holland. No sooner was this step taken, than every artifice was employed to rekindle the rage of party in England. Those of republican principles were secretly tampered with; and general Ludlow, who had fled his country to

* Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis*, chap. 6.

escape the fate of the regicides, was solicited to head an army designed to dethrone the king; Denmark was also brought to declare in favour of the Dutch.

Charles endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He sent an extraordinary envoy into Spain, who met with a very cold reception at that court. Notwithstanding that kingdom was sunk into a state of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France, yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a friendly alliance with England. The marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Portugal; the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers; the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these circumstances sunk so deep in the mind of the Spanish monarch, that no motive of interest was sufficient to outweigh them. Bernard Van Ghalen, bishop of Munster, was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, who was a man of restless enterprize and ambition, had entertained a violent animosity against the States; and he was easily engaged, by a promise of subsidies from England, to make an incursion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near twenty thousand men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak resistance. The land-forces of the States were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after his committing great ravages in several of the provinces, a stop was put to the progress of this warlike prelate. He wanted military skill to enable him to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands. The French king sent a body of six thousand men to oppose him; subsidies were not regularly remitted him from England, and many of his troops deserted for want of pay. The elector of Brandenburg threatened

threatened him with an invasion in his own bishopric; and, thus circumstanced, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first surmise of his intention, Sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance, but found that he arrived too late*.

This aspect of affairs filled the Dutch with hopes of retrieving their miscarriages, and caused an unanimity in their councils, which greatly assisted the operations of the war. They considered the English as the aggressors in this quarrel, and were thereby stimulated to revenge. The spirit of the English, on the other hand, was no ways sunk at the prospect of their accumulated enemies, and even though both natural and accidental calamities, at the same time, visited them internally; a plague ravaged London, which swept off near one hundred thousand of its inhabitants; and, soon after, the city was almost entirely destroyed by a conflagration, which raged for three days without intermission†. One advantage England possessed in carrying on the war against her confederated enemies from her situation, which enabled her to prevent the junction of their fleets; but no benefit was derived, in the issue, from this local superiority.

In the beginning of February Charles returned to London, from whence he had hastily departed, on the appearance of the plague there. The command of the naval armaments was now given to prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle; the former, with a fleet of forty ships, sailed in quest of the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 407.
1666.

† September

was said to be at Belleisle, with thirty-six ships, and about to enter the Channel, and form a junction with the Dutch. Soon after the prince had carried off so considerable a part of the grand fleet of England, De Ruyter appeared between Newport and Dunkirk, at the head of seventy-one sail of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire-ships, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. Albemarle, though greatly inferior in force, did not hesitate what to do, but bore down upon them with great gallantry. The Dutch captains were not at all backward to come into action, for many cut their cables, in order to engage.

On the 1st day of June, 1666, the battle began with incredible fury. Tromp, and after him De Ruyter, were obliged to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage they were in danger of sinking: one of their fleet was blown up, and admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. To counterbalance this, Sir William Berkley, who led the English van, was driven into the midst of the enemy, where his ship being assailed on all sides, was taken, after a gallant resistance, in which he was slain. One or two English ships were sunk, notwithstanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and activity of a youthful warrior. Night parted the combatants, but next day the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with increased fury. Van Tromp having engaged himself too far within the English line, had well nigh been taken, but for the effectual support which De Ruyter afforded him. These two admirals were of opposite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inspired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and resolution; neither desirous of building his own fame on the ruin of his rival. Whilst the
fate

fate of the two fleets was thus suspended, the Dutch received a reinforcement of sixteen ships; at the same time the English fleet was so shattered, as that no more than twenty-eight sail remained fit for service. Albemarle was hereupon obliged to retreat towards his own coasts, whither the Dutch followed him, and, towards night, came up with him; but a sudden calm forced the irritated combatants to a suspension of arms. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous disposition, sent the disabled ships a-head, while he himself remained in the rear with those that were still capable of service, so as to form a line astern occasionally, for the reception of the pursuers. About two o'clock, when the Dutch were almost within gunshot, the duke descried prince Rupert, and his squadron, to the southward, (who had been deluded by a false report of the appearance of the French fleet, designedly thrown out) crowding all their sails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galloper Sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The two English fleets having joined, prepared for another engagement, and the next morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them with a determined firmness. A fourth battle ensued, which was maintained with equal rage and desperation on both sides, and was continued until a thick fog intervened, which prevented the farther continuance of the conflict. The English having suffered greatly, seized this opportunity to retire, with considerable loss. Both sides however claimed the victory; but the Dutch must be allowed to have borne away the wreath, although no glory was lost by the party which was worsted. The pensioner De Witt acknowledged,

ledged, upon this occasion, "that if the English were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; the Dutch fleet could never have been brought to engage after such a fight as was on the first day, and he believed none but the English could; and all that the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt, but that English courage was invincible*.

The loss sustained by the English in these successive battles, which were the most terrible that had been fought in this war, or perhaps in any other, is computed at sixteen men of war, of which ten were sunk, and six taken. In the last day's engagement fell the brave admiral Minnes, who, though he had received a shot in the neck, still kept upon deck, and issued out his orders for upwards of an hour, stopping the flow of blood with his fingers; till another shot pierced his throat, and deprived him of life. The English writers say, that the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thousand men; themselves own the loss of nine ships, and that there was a prodigious slaughter of their seamen†. The loss of men, which the English sustained, was very considerable, though not equal to that of their enemy. The Dutch however compute it at between five and six thousand. The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his temerity, and contempt in which he held the Dutch. He seems to have entertained the same sentiment with Blake, who considered fighting as always to be preferred to running away, in a nation that claimed the dominion of the sea; and if one or two instances bear hard upon this doctrine, yet it is surely

* Wicquefort, *Hist. des Provinces Unies*, liv. XV. MS. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. II. p. 263. † *Bainage Annales des Provinces Unies*.

right in the general, and has been productive of the most happy consequences. "It is enough," says Dr. Campbell, "that we live in cooler times, when men may be heroes upon more moderate terms *."

The Dutch were first at sea after this action, and De Ruyter posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of the action, he was separated from De Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself, as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however, at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" One De Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 265.

purchase

purchase to the victors. But De Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the utmost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night, and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of De Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours*.

The English now rode incontestible masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch on their coasts. The two great admirals of the States, De Ruyter and Van Tromp, mutually accused each other of being the cause of the defeat. The Dutch are said to have lost twenty ships in this action; four of their admirals were killed, several captains, and near four thousand private men. The English are said to have lost only one ship, the *Resolution*, which was burnt; three captains were killed, and only about three hundred private men. The populace in Holland had been made to believe, that the naval strength of England had been effectually broken by the actions in June, and that the Dutch fleet would bear down all before it. Their consternation therefore at this fatal reverse, was increased in proportion to the degree that their hopes had been raised. Their rage received a yet farther increase by a new misfortune.

On the 29th of July, the English fleet steered its course for the *Ulie*; but the wind being contrary, it did not make the island till the 7th of August. Being then come to an anchor, prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithstanding there were very rich store-houses on the islands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them; yet *Ulie* and *Schelling* were very indifferently guarded; hereupon it was resolved

* 25th of July, 1666.

to attack them forthwith*. A council of flag officers was called, in order to make the necessary dispositions for this great attempt. There it was determined that three hundred men should be drawn out of each squadron, two-thirds land, and one-third seamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red; with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in case it was found expedient to attack both islands at once, was to command one division. The ships appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ships, and seven ketches.

On the 8th of August, about seven in the morning, this squadron weighed, divided from the rest of the fleet, and came to an anchor about a league from the buoys, where they met the prince's pleasure-boat, called the Fanfan, who had discovered in the harbour a considerable fleet of ships near the Ulie, which proved to be one hundred and seventy merchant-ships, the least of which was not less than two hundred tons burthen, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed near an hundred of the said ships. The whole were richly laden.

Sir Robert Holmes considering, that if he should proceed, as his design was, first to attempt a descent on the land, that numerous fleet might possibly pour in such numbers of men, as might render their success hazardous, resolved to begin with the ships; accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampshire to lie without the buoys, he weighed with the rest of the fleet; and the wind being contrary, he returned, with great difficulty, into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor; and immediately Sir Robert went on board the

* The Ulie is an island from which the Dutch fleets usually sail to the Baltic; it has the Texel and Schelling on the north.

Fanfan, and hoisted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him; and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke, which drew the least water, with the five fire-ships, should immediately fall in amongst the enemy's fleet. Captain Brown, with his fire-ship, chose, very bravely, to lay the biggest man of war on board, and burnt it downright. Another fire-ship running up, at the same time, to the other man of war, they backing their sails, escaped the present execution of the fire-ship; but so as to run themselves on ground, where the ship was presently taken by some of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ships clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confusion; which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a signal for all the officers to come on board again; and presently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be spared, should take the advantage, and fall in, sink, burn, and destroy all they could; but with a strict command not to plunder. The execution was so well followed, each captain destroying his share; some twelve, some fifteen merchantmen, that of the whole fleet there escaped not above eight or nine ships; one of which was a Guinea-man of twenty-four guns, and three small privateers: these ships being driven up into a narrower corner of the stream, protected four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where our boats could not possibly come at them; though even these few were much damaged. The next day, which was the 10th of August, it was found more expedient to land on the Island of Schelling, than upon Ulie; which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats, which he landed with little or no opposition. When
he

he came on shore he left one company to secure his boats, and with the other ten marched three miles up into the country, to the capital town, called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of one thousand fine houses; where keeping five companies upon the skirts of the town, to prevent any surprise of the enemy, he sent the other five to set fire to the place; but finding them a little slow to execute that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themselves in the pillage, he was himself forced to set fire to some houses to the windward, the sooner to dispatch the work, and hasten the men away. The fire burnt with such violence, that in half an hour most part of the town was in a blaze. This place was reported, by those that were found in it, to have been very rich; and the booty which some of the soldiers made there confirms such accounts. This blow greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, suffered the loss of near six millions of guilders; and were we to take the ships into this computation, they confess, that they were losers to the amount of eleven millions, or one million one hundred thousand pounds sterling*.

The English however were still more visited with calamities than the States of Holland; at one time they groaned under three as great evils as can befall mankind; war, pestilence, and famine. On the 3d of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's house, near London bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it had laid in ashes the greatest part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do

* Some writers make the loss sustained by the Dutch still more, viz. twelve million of guilders, or one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 387. Rapin diminishes the loss, and the number of ships.—*Campbell's Naval History*.

any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be melancholy spectators of their own ruin, and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprizing violence, and destroyed eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. Yet the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London soon rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of prerogative, regulated the distribution of the buildings, and forbad the use of lath and timber, of which the houses were before composed; and many of the streets being built wider, admitted a greater circulation of air; by which means London became more healthy. Hence the plague, which used to break out with great fury, once or twice every century, has never since appeared in the city.

A war carried on with such vigour as that between England and Holland, was likely to be soon brought to some issue; accordingly, by the end of this year, all parties began heartily to wish for peace. The Dutch, notwithstanding their defeats, improved every day in their military skill. Though their trade had suffered extremely, yet their extensive credit enabled them to procure large sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money, and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English; and Charles, neither fond of action,
nor

nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war which had proved both fruitless and destructive *. A treaty was therefore set on foot at Breda. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of a peace seemed the certain consequence of a negotiation; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors there to discuss. In this situation Charles, willing to retrench the expences of the state, in order to enrich his private coffers, laid up a considerable part of his navy; by which shameful breach of duty to his people, he exposed England to one of the greatest affronts which she had ever received.

The pensionary De Witt, partly by himself in person, and farther by agents employed for that purpose, had sounded the mouth of the river Thames, in order to discover how far it would be practicable to make an attempt there with large ships; and having gained information favourable to his designs, he resolved to execute them, notwithstanding the negotiations for a peace were in so good a train. The French court secretly countenanced the undertaking. In the spring of the year 1667, De Witt caused a large fleet to be got ready, under a pretence of attacking some Scottish privateers that had greatly annoyed the vessels of Holland. Accordingly, admiral Van Ghendt was sent into the frith of Forth; whilst another fleet was manned with great secrecy and dispatch, the command of which was given to De Ruyter, on board of which were put pilots who were well acquainted with the navigation of the river Thames. Meanwhile the

* Hume's History of England. Vol. VII. p. 418.

supine ministry of Charles were never once awakened into suspicion. The Dutch fleet, as soon as ready, sailed for the English coast, where it was joined by Van Ghendt's Squadron; the whole consisting of seventy men of war, besides fire-ships. A detachment from this fleet was then sent up the river Thames, which, on the 10th of June, attacked Sheerness, which was, at that time, unfinished, and in no state of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a considerable quantity of naval stores. No sooner was the alarm given, than the duke of Albemarle hastened, with the commanding officers, to the defence of the river Medway; to secure which, they sunk ships at the entrance, threw a chain across, and placed three large vessels, which had been taken from the Dutch, behind the chain. A strong eastwardly wind favoured this bold attempt of De Ruyter, and determined him to try to burn the ships which lay at Chatham, in spite of the precautions taken to preserve them. To effect this, the chain which guarded the entrance of the harbour was first to be broken; and this was performed with great gallantry by one of his officers. An impetuous attack was then made upon the ships which defended the entrance of the harbour, and, at length, they were set on fire; and with this exploit they closed the first day's attack. The next morning, the wind still blowing full into the harbour, the Dutch advanced as high as Upnore-Castle, with six men of war, and two fire-ships. But here they met with so warm a reception that they were obliged to retreat. In their way back they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ship, and in her captain Douglas, who was appointed to defend it. This brave man, receiving no orders to retire when the ship was in flames, said, "It shall never be said that a Douglas quitted his post without orders," and

and resolutely continued on board, and was burnt with the ship*. It is pity that so brave a man should sacrifice his life to a punctilio, an adherence to which could not possibly render his country any service. The Dutch carried off the hull of the *Royal Charles*, which the English fought manfully to preserve. In this retreat two Dutch men of war ran ashore in the Medway, and were burnt; which, with eight fire-ships consumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loss which their writers acknowledge, though they might probably suffer much more.

The city of London was filled with terror at this daring enterprize; it was apprehended that when the Dutch fleet was returned from the Medway, it would, with the next tide, sail up the Thames, quite to that capital. Nine ships were thereupon sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; platforms, provided with artillery, were raised in many places, and the trained bands drawn out. De Ruyter however did not realize these apprehensions, but sailed back to the mouth of the Thames, where he left admiral Van Nes with a part of his fleet, while he himself proceeded with the rest to Portsmouth, with a view to commit the like depredations there; but he was repulsed: he then directed his course to Torbay, where he took some English vessels; but was again repulsed when he attempted to land. He made as unsuccessful an attempt upon Plymouth; then sailing back through the Channel, appeared off Harwich, and fired some shot at Landguard fort; but he was beat off with considerable loss. Many sharp actions happened between the Dutch fleet, and the English commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, in which, upon the whole, the former

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 401.

sustained

sustained the most damage and loss, but not sufficient to cause them to quit the coasts, where they continued till the peace was signed at Breda.—No king that merited the crown he wore, would have concluded a peace whilst this insolent attack remained unrevenged ; but Charles was as indifferent about the honour of the nation, as he was of his own reputation.

The nation was highly incensed, to see an enemy whom they considered as beaten, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now, all at once, ride undisputed masters of the ocean ; burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But though the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence of government, yet no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who, upon that supposition, had been treated with great severity*.

Three distinct treaties of peace were signed at Breda, 10th July, 1667, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the English minister. Hereby the Island of Poleroon, in the East-Indies, was ceded to the Dutch ; an indemnification for the ships *Bonaventure* and *Good-Hope*, the pretended grounds of the war, was no longer insisted on ; *Acadie*, or *Acadia*, which the English call *Nova-Scotia*, was most impolitically yielded to France. The acquisition of *New-York* was the chief ad-

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 422.

vantage

vantage the English derived from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent*. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had sold all the merchant-ships taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and had embezzled the chief part of the last supply which had been granted him for carrying on the war; while his brother, grown sick of fighting, from the desperate actions in which he had been plunged at the outset of the war, remained safe at home, and by virtue of his post of lord high-admiral, took to himself a large share of the prizes which were made; besides which the parliament voted him a handsome present.

The king now thought it necessary to make some sacrifice to the discontents of his subjects, and Clarendon was singled out as the scape-goat to expiate his master's crimes. Charles considered that nobleman as a troublesome censor, who disapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleasures. He was indeed extremely unpopular, and justly considered as an enemy by all the dissenters. The sale of Dunkirk, the disgrace at Chatham, and the unsuccessful conclusion of the war, were laid to his charge. The king deprived him of the office of chancellor; he was soon after impeached by the commons; and thinking it proper to withdraw, a bill of banishment and incapacity was passed against him; upon which he retired into France, where he lived in a private manner, employing his leisure chiefly in reducing into order his History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 423.

collected materials. He survived his banishment six years. Though he had attended the king during his exile, Charles appeared never to have mitigated his resentment against him; that prince was as incapable of friendship as he was of gratitude; his attachments were all selfish and sensual. National prejudices pursued this statesman to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremity, had not their officers, hearing of this violence, happily interposed. He lived some time after this, till being suddenly seized with an apoplexy, he died in the presence of his son.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic broils, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued; the popular pretensions of the parliament were restrained; the Hugonot party controuled; the extensive and fertile kingdom of France, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants; and while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission to the will of the reigning prince. The sovereign, who then filled the throne, was well-adapted by his personal character, both to encrease, and avail himself of, these advantages. Louis the Fourteenth, endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, possessing many which merited the approbation of the wise: the masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble

noble air: the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness: elegant without effeminacy; addicted to pleasure without neglecting business; decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power: he surpassed all contemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory. His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, had carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured success. His finances were brought into order; a naval power was created; his armies were augmented and disciplined; magazines and military stores were provided; and though the magnificence of his court was supported beyond all former example, so regular was the economy observed, and so willingly did the people, now beginning to be enriched by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes, that his military force was greater than any prince in Europe had ever been master of.

The sudden decline, and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy, opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince, and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were astonished at the rising greatness of France; and all of them cast their eyes upon England, as the only power that could save them from the overwhelming greatness of France.

The animosity which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the jealousy of Spanish greatness, began now again to break out. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future

security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had been greatly conducive to reconcile them to the inadequate peace which had been entered into. The death of Philip IV. of Spain, who was father-in-law to Louis XIV. gave the latter a pretext to claim the duchy of Brabant, and other parts of the Netherlands, then subject to Spain, together with Franche-Comté. The reasons on which he grounded his pretensions were very frivolous, but they were supported by the greatest military force in Europe; a mode of reasoning which the French monarch thought irresistible. He appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands, with an army of more than forty thousand men, led on by the most eminent generals of the age, and well-furnished with every requisite. Such ambition, joined to such power, threatened nothing short of the subversion of the general liberties of Europe; and the United Provinces, as they lay nearest, were, very justly, first alarmed at the impending danger. Louis, apprehensive that all Europe would combine against him, proposed terms to the Dutch, who were most likely to bring about such a confederacy.

The fickle and unsteady temper of Charles was obliged to become determined by the exigencies of the times. He therefore dispatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambassador extraordinary, with full powers to conclude a triple alliance between England, the States-general, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from finishing the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. Temple, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians, meeting in De Wist, a man of the same generous and

and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was, from the first, negotiated between these two statesmen, with the same cordiality as if it were a private transaction between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same; they gave full scope to that sympathy of character, which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements. And though jealousy against the house of Orange might inspire De Witt with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service*. This triple league was concluded in five days†, and produced a general treaty of pacification, which was entered into at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the month of May following. By which Louis remained in possession of all the towns in Flanders, which he had subdued: he surrendered up Franche-Comté to Spain; and this peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance. Hereupon the Dutch ordered a medal to be struck, with a pompous inscription, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe. Joshua Van Beuningen, their plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was vain enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French monarch. These, and such other unseasonable marks of pride, gave umbrage to Louis; who seemed to remember them in the sequel; when he found an opportunity to punish their presumption.

Peace being now restored, Charles sent Sir Thomas Allen, with a squadron of ships, into the Mediter-

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 433.
1668.

† January

ranean,

rancau, to chastise the Algerines, who had taken advantage of the situation of England and Holland during the late war, and had seized, indiscriminately, the ships of each State. At the same time Van Ghent was sent by the States for the like purpose. These two fleets greatly assisted each other in their operations. Many ships belonging to these pirates were sunk, or otherwise destroyed, and a considerable number of Christian slaves set at liberty. At the close of the year 1669, captain Kemphorne, in the *Mary-Rose*, a small frigate, engaged seven Algerine men of war, and after a very warm action, forced them to sheer off.

The force under Allen however was found ineffectual for the purpose on which it was sent; so that in the year 1670, Sir Edward Spragge was sent out with a stronger Squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruised for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this he sailed from thence, with six frigates, and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs, which lay in the haven of Bugia, a strong town to the eastward of Algiers. In his passage, two of his fire-ships were separated from the Squadron; but this reduction of his strength did not prevent him from prosecuting his purpose. Being come before the place, he broke the bomb at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground; and, notwithstanding the fire of the castle, burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after performing this important service, he destroyed another of their ships of war at Tedelez.

These misfortunes caused such discontents among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and elected

elected another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the 9th of December 1671; and as they were now effectually humbled; they took care to observe this peace better than the former ones which they had entered into.

Charles, in order to divide the popular party, which soon began to be troublesome to him in parliament, changed the committee of council established for foreign affairs, and entrusted it to five persons, Clifford, Ashly Cooper, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. This council obtained the name of the Cabal, from the initial letters of their names happening to compose that word. Never was there a more dangerous ministry, nor one more distinguished for their pernicious counsels.

On the 25th of January 1670, a plan was formed between the duke of York, who had, upon the death of his duchess, openly declared his adherence to the Romish faith, lord Clifford, and lord Arundel of Wardour, both of whom were catholics, and lord Arlington, who was well-affected to that religion, for a secret treaty with France. Clarendon had, in an evil hour, taught Charles, in the first years of his reign, to receive money from France, unknown to his people; and the duke, with his three associates, presuming upon the same aid, formed the project of a treaty between the kings of France and England, the ends of which were, that Louis XIV. should give Charles two hundred thousand pounds a year, to enable him to re-establish the popish religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; that he should also assist him with forces, in case insurrections should arise in his kingdoms; and that after the interests of religion were secured, the two monarchs should join their forces, by sea and land, for the destruction

destruction of the Dutch commonwealth, and divide its dominions between them and Charles's nephew the young prince of Orange. This scheme being laid before Charles, he adopted it, and dispatched lord Arundel to Paris with the proposal. Louis agreed to the terms, with an intention to persuade Charles afterwards, to reverse the order of the project, and begin with the conquest of Holland. But so dangerous a secret was kept concealed both in France and England.

In the mean time Buckingham, who was a favourite of the king's sister the duchess of Orleans, had entered with her into a project, to bring about an alliance for a new war against Holland. Her intentions in this were, that the adjusting the terms of the treaty, should be committed to themselves by their respective sovereigns. Louis caught eagerly at an intrigue which he foresaw might facilitate the views he had entertained when he entered into the secret treaty; and as he knew the influence of the duchess with her brother, he sent her to Dover, under the pretence of a visit to Charles; but, in reality, to persuade him to undertake immediately the destruction of Holland, and he himself lingered on the opposite coast of France, while the interview lasted. It was intended, that Charles and the duke should have gone to Dover together; but Charles, by an accident, went alone; and the duchess, who was ignorant of the former secret treaty, proposed to her brother a treaty with France, for a war of the two kingdoms against Holland, and his receiving a subsidy from France while it continued. To this proposal Charles instantly agreed. When the duke arrived, he in vain pressed him to adhere to the terms of the former treaty, and to settle the interest of religion, and the establishment of his own power at home, before he involved himself in the difficulties

difficulties of a war, which would make him dependant upon parliament. Louis, who was well acquainted with Charles's character, had fixed him in his interests by the ties of pleasure, and had made him a present of a French mistress, by whose means he hoped to govern him for the future. The duchess of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the king took with him to London, and soon after created duchess of Portsmouth. He was ever after extremely attached to her; and she proved a great means of supporting his connections with France.

Previous to the rupture with Holland, a treaty of peace was signed between England and Spain, which is commonly called the American treaty. Spain had ever carefully avoided the mention of America in all treaties entered into with England, being desirous of keeping up her ancient claims to that country; whilst England, on the other hand, was desirous of maintaining and improving the footing she had gained on the northern coast. The great feebleness of the Spanish monarchy, at length, compelled them to recede from this rapacious haughtiness; and overtures were made by the Spanish minister to the court of Great-Britain, for a clear and explicit adjustment of the rights of the two kingdoms in America. This brought on a conference, the result whereof was, that Spain agreed to recognize the right of England to all American dominions, of which she was possessed in 1670. By this treaty, the pirates, or buccaneers, who for several years had greatly annoyed Spanish America, were cut off from any future protection from England. Neither this treaty however, nor any subsequent one, has determined the right by which the ships of Spain, called *guarda de costas*, intercept and annoy such English ships as sail near, though without landing

landing on, the Spanish coasts in the gulph of Mexico, which we shall hereafter see became the foundation of a war between the two kingdoms.

Ireland began to attain a state of some composure, when it was disturbed by a violent act, passed by the English parliament, which prohibited the exportation of Irish cattle into England. The duke of Ormond, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, strongly opposed this law. He represented, that the trade carried on between England and Ireland, was highly advantageous to the former, as the commodities imported were provisions and raw materials; in return for which, the English gave their own manufactures. He pleaded, that if a prohibition for exporting cattle from Ireland took place, the Irish would be deprived of the staple article of their trade, and that by which alone they could make a return for the merchandise which they consumed. That the industrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which reduced the price of living, would be obliged to advance the rate of labour, and thereby lay an additional price on the manufactures exported to foreign markets. That the natives of Ireland, naturally prone to sloth, losing that incentive to activity which a ready market for the produce of their pastures afforded, would perpetuate, through posterity, their indolence and barbarism: that by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the two kingdoms, all the natural bands of union would be dissolved, and nothing would be effectual to keep the Irish to their allegiance but the power of the sword; and that, by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, the inevitable consequence of cramping its chief article of trade, it would be rendered even incapable of maintaining that military force, by which it would then be necessary that it should be curbed and subjugated.

Charles

Charles was much averse to giving his assent to this bill, but the commons were determined to have it passed into a law; to force their necessitous prince into a concurrence, they refused to grant supplies until it had received the royal assent. The value of rents in England had been on the decline, the cause of which was found in the importation of Irish cattle. Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving the lord-lieutenant trouble in his government; and the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their superiority over this dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the commons: They even went so far as to declare, in the preamble of the bill, that the importation of Irish cattle was a nuisance. By this phrase they barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law, that he deemed both unjust and impolitic. The lords expunged the word; but as the king well knew that his supplies depended on the commons being gratified, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the peers to make the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not however forbear expressing his displeasure at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the commons discovered of retrenching his prerogative. Many inconveniences were felt in Ireland on the first passing of this law; but as the West-India Islands grew into consequence, a new market was opened to the southern parts of Ireland, for the consumption of their provisions; and the northern parts being more addicted to manufactures, rapidly advanced in wealth and population.

This fruitfulness of Ireland proceeded from the great numbers of the commonwealth's soldiers who had settled there; to these were assigned portions of land, which they cultivated with great industry, and were thereby able to export beef, pork, hides, tallow, bread, beer, wood, and corn, at much lower rates than they could formerly have been sold for*.

About this time the duke of Buckingham invited over from Venice the most able artists in the different branches of glass-making, and thereby a manufacture was established, which grew to be of great consequence, insomuch that we now export the very best glass to the very place from whence the art was at first drawn.

The king's cousin, prince Rupert, and seventeen other persons of quality and distinction, having, in the year 1659, sent out captain Newland to Hudson's Bay, where he settled at port Nelson; and captain Gilham also returning with some success, in his prospect of a trade with the Indians in that bay, king Charles granted these noble adventurers an incorporating charter, dated 2d of May, 1670, which invested them with nothing short of absolute uncontrolled power in those immense territories; but the power of the crown being restrained, particularly in the right of granting charters, at the revolution, these dangerous privileges were then revoked; and to render charters valid, it became necessary that they receive the sanction of parliament.

In January 1671-2, the king, by the advice of his cabal ministry, shut up the exchequer, by which step all the money which the London goldsmiths and bankers had deposited at eight per cent. interest, was made use of by the king for his intended

* Sir Josiah Child on Trade.

war with Holland. The sum thus seized amounted to one million three hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred and twenty-six pounds; the injury which the nation sustained by this arbitrary and unjust detention of their property was very great, and many families were thereby reduced from opulence to beggary. The discontents of the people ran high on this, and it was publicly said, that a step of this kind indicated that the crown, for the future, resolved to *borrow* no more, but to *take*. The king's ministers paid no regard to the remonstrances of those people who were ruined, and the exchequer long remained shut; and though six per cent. was paid on all monies so seized, yet the principal was never paid. The parliament, of the twelfth year of king William, although this was not a parliamentary debt, yet provided for a large arrear of interest on it, settled an interest of three per cent. on the principal, and made the debt redeemable on paying one moiety of it, or six hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three pounds, which moiety thereupon became the proper debt of the public, and was finally subscribed into the South-Sea capital stock, in the year 1720.

At the same time that the exchequer was shut up, the act of navigation was suspended, by authority of the crown alone. This step was taken in order to man the royal navy, by compelling the seamen on board of merchantmen to enter on board men of war; a similar stretch of authority had been made in the first Dutch war. A proclamation was also issued, containing rigorous clauses in favour of pressing: this was accompanied with another, full of menaces against those who presumed to express themselves disrespectfully of his majesty's measures, and even against those who connived at such discourse,

course, by hearing it without informing against the speakers. All these arbitrary measures showed, that the court were bent on overturning that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

The cabal ministry had hit upon another method of filling the king's coffers, which was by intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant-ships from Smyrna, which was supposed to be worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes, who struck the first stroke in the former war by his reprisals in Guinea, was pitched upon to begin the war now determined on, by attacking these ships. Accordingly, he was sent out with a fleet of men of war. Under him were the earl of Ossory, as vice-admiral, in the *Resolution*, and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear-admiral, in the *Cambridge*. Holmes fell in with Sir Edward Spragge, who was returning home with his squadron from the Mediterranean, where he had effectually annoyed the Algerines; but being desirous of achieving the exploit without any sharer in the honour, he suffered Spragge to continue his voyage homewards, without availing himself of his assistance. Sir Robert Holmes soon after descried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five men of war, commanded by admiral Van Nesse, who having received intimation of the design that was formed, put his ships of war, and their convoy into an admirable state of defence. On the 13th of March, 1672, the English admiral attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity, and the combat was maintained during the whole of that day; the next morning it was renewed, and continued again till night: on the third day one of the Dutch ships of war was taken, and five rich merchant-ships; the rest were saved by the admirable
address

address of the Dutch commander, and, by the favour of a thick fog, were brought safe to Holland. The States-general exclaimed loudly against this piratical attempt, which appeared the more dishonourable, as, upon the whole, it had been attended with very little success: the English nation, in general, condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and even the king himself was ashamed of the undertaking*. The ministry pretended that it was no other than a casual rencounter, occasioned by the pride of the Dutch admiral, who refused to strike his topsails in compliment to the English squadron. Soon after four Dutch East-India ships were taken by some cruisers from England, and were condemned as lawful prizes, even before the declaration of war.

The administration of Holland could hardly believe the king of England was really resolved upon a war, until these outrages were committed; but hereupon they exerted their utmost abilities to put themselves in a state of defence.

In the mean time Charles, with a view to favour the Roman catholics, issued a proclamation, suspending the penal laws against non-conformists. This was a large stride towards arbitrary power, and so contrary to the sentiments of the parliament, that he would not have ventured upon it had he not been provided with a powerful fleet, and a new-levied army, both of which were entirely under his controul. His next step was to declare war against the Dutch; the reasons he assigned for which were, that they had refused to send home the English families settled in Surinam, agreeable to the stipulations entered into at Breda; for having denied

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 75.

the honours due to the English flag; and for having ridiculed the king and people of England, in medals and pictures. The Dutch were long at a loss what to make of this latter charge, until it was discovered that a portrait of Cornelius De Witt, the pensionary's brother, had been painted by order of the magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, on the back-ground of which were represented some ships on fire: this was construed to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, where De Witt had distinguished himself. Thus, though the insult itself, which was committed in open war, had long been forgiven, the picture of it drew severe vengeance on the country.

To these charges the Dutch replied, that they had not detained the English families at Surinam, but they themselves had refused to quit the colony; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their top-sails on their own coast, to any English yacht, which was the circumstance resented; and that they had never countenanced any pictures, or medals, that reflected upon the honour of the king, and people of England. But it was in vain to remonstrate when measures were predetermined. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended, in his manifesto, that he would still faithfully adhere to the purport of the triple alliance.

In this dispute, as in the former, such ships as had been detained in port, were dismissed on both sides.

War was declared in England against Holland, in London, on the 28th of March, and presently after by France. The French king, in his declaration, assigned no other reason than his being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Dutch, and that it did not consist with his glory any longer to bear it.

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The bishop of Munster, at the same time, declared war against the republic, on pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of some of his places; and the elector of Cologne admitted a body of French troops into his dominions, under the show of providing for his own safety; but really in consequence of a secret treaty entered into with France. The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now devoted to destruction; Louis the Fourteenth was at the head of an army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, commanded by brave and experienced generals. The Dutch, on the other hand, were distracted between two powerful factions. De Witt, the chief of the Louvestein party, who had long directed the administration, thought he could not take more effectual means to depress the Orange faction, than to disband a great part of the army, in which those old officers who were attached to the interest of the prince of Orange were dismissed, and their commissions filled by the sons and kinsmen of the pensionary's friends: these, for the most part, were raw youths, unacquainted with actual service, and entirely ignorant of discipline. Those new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay. So that all military spirit was extinguished.

The impending danger, at length, roused De Witt to make the most effectual provision for the defence of his country; but every plan which he proposed was disrelished and opposed by the Orange party. The long and uncontrolled administration of this statesman had excited envy; and the alarming state of affairs, at that time, gave increased vigour to his enemies and opponents, who attributed the bad condition of the republic purely to his

misconduct. Besides which, the popular affection to the young prince of Orange began to grow very strong. Prince William was in the twenty-second year of his age, and gave strong indications of those great qualities, by which his life was afterwards so much distinguished. De Witt himself, by giving him an excellent education, and instructing him in all the principles of government and sound policy, had generously contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious situation of his own party, he was always resolved, he said, to instruct the prince in the knowledge of affairs, and thereby render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergence should ever throw the administration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithstanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburg, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely upon the States for his advancement; and the whole tenour of his behaviour suited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a sound and steady understanding; firm in what he once resolved, or once denied; strongly intent on business; little addicted to pleasure: by these virtues he engaged the attention of all men; and the Hollanders, sensible that they owed their liberty, and very existence, to his family; and remembering, that his great-uncle, Maurice, had been able, even in more early youth, to defend them against the power of Spain, were desirous of raising this prince to that authority which his ancestors had possessed; and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection against those imminent dangers with which they were then threatened *.

* Hume's History of England. Vol. VII. p. 483.

During

During the long prevalence of the Louvestein party, the navy of Holland engrossed the whole attention of the ministry, while the army was considered as a dangerous means of strengthening the hands of their opposers. The two violent wars which, during the last twenty years, had been waged with England, had improved both the skill and the courage of the seamen; and though many of their great commanders had lost their lives in one or other of those desperate actions which had been fought, yet there still remained to Holland, a naval officer, equal; if not superior in abilities, experience, and intrepidity, to any which it had lost; and perhaps not inferior to any sea commander of the age. This man was De Ruyter, who was zealously devoted to the cause of De Witt. The first object therefore was to equip a fleet, and thereby to attempt to strike some decisive blow, which should give a turn to the aspect of affairs. The conduct of the English particularly incensed De Witt, and he meditated to revenge himself, and his country, upon them. It must be acknowledged, that the court of England had acted shamefully by the republic of Holland, first inviting it to quit the alliance of France, by the offer of entering into a close league for their mutual defence; and as soon as it had embraced these measures, forming an unnatural confederacy with France, to effect the entire subversion of those provinces.

Full of these ideas De Ruyter put to sea, with the most formidable fleet that the republic of Holland had ever sent out; on board of which was Cornelius De Witt, as deputy from the States. The French king, that he might seem to perform his treaty with the English better than in the former war he had done with the Dutch, sent the marshal d'Etrees, vice-admiral of France, with a large

squadron, to join the English fleet. He arrived at St. Helens on the 3d of May, and immediately after the king went down to Portsmouth; and to shew the confidence he placed in his new ally, went on board the French admiral. The combined fleets sailed from thence to the Downs; the duke of York, as admiral, bearing the red flag, and the earl of Sandwich the blue; the French squadron brought up the rear, their admiral bearing a white flag. The whole fleet consisted of one hundred and one sail of men of war, besides fire-ships and tenders. Of these the English had sixty-five men of war, and on board them four thousand and ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thousand five hundred and thirty men. The French squadron consisted of thirty-six sail, on board of which were one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pieces of cannon, and about eleven thousand men. The Dutch fleet amounted to ninety-one men of war, fifty-four fire-ships, and twenty-three yachts. The English and French fleets lay at anchor, in such disorder, in Solbay, on the coast of Suffolk, that had the Dutch fleet borne down upon them precipitately, their fire-ships would, most probably, have annihilated their enemies, and effected a victory more decisive and signal than history has hitherto recorded. This danger the earl of Sandwich perceived, and urged the duke of York to remove, by making a more extended disposition; but instead of having his advice followed, which his great experience and tried bravery entitled him to expect, the petulant duke intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. This insult is supposed to have sunk so deep into the mind of Sandwich, whose nice sense of honour could not brook the most distant imputation, as to actuate him to the desperate part which he took in the

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the engagement which soon after ensued; herein following the fatal example of Sir Edward Howard, in similar circumstances, during the reign of Henry the Eighth*.

The appearance of the Dutch fleet that same day justified the precaution that had been advised; but the slowness of its approach enabled the combined fleets to form a line of battle, in order for which many ships were obliged to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation. The engagement began about eight in the morning. De Ruyter, with his division, attacked the centre of the English fleet, commanded by the duke of York; whilst the earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, of one hundred guns, made haste to weather the headland, and attack Van Ghent's division. The impetuous valour of the earl carried him into the midst of the enemy, where, although badly supported by many of the ships under his command, he, almost alone, dealt terrible destruction to the enemy. He killed admiral Van Ghent, and beat off his ship; he destroyed another large ship that attempted to board him, sunk three fire-ships as they were approaching to grapple with his rigging; and although six hundred of his men were killed, being two-thirds of the ship's company, and his ship dreadfully shattered by the shot of the enemy, he never slackened the fury of his fire upon all who assailed him. At length a fourth fire-ship ran aboard on the quarter of his crippled ship, and set it in flames. Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, who was almost the only officer that survived, in vain entreated this brave man to abandon the ship, and consult his own safety by taking to the boat, but in vain; he remained on board till almost surrounded by

* See Vol. I. p. 251, 252.

flames,

flames, when he plunged into the sea, and there perished*.

Whilst Sandwich had been pressing forward in quest of the enemy, De Ruyter had borne down on

* This naval hero was the son of Sir Sydney Montagu, who was brother of Edward, first lord Montagu, of Boughton. Our admiral, Edward Montagu, was born July 27, 1625, and was married in 1642 to the daughter of lord Crew, of Stene. He received from the parliament a commission to raise a regiment in Cambridgeshire, when he was only eighteen years of age, which he completed with such dispatch, that in the following year he distinguished himself at the head of it; particularly in the famous battle of Marston Moor. The next year (1645) he fought in the battle of Naseby.

Although he took so active a part with the parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, yet when he found that the army aimed at nothing short of annihilating regal power, he opposed their proceedings in parliament, being then a representative for Huntingdonshire, and at length withdrew himself from the house. He was however one of the council, composed of fifteen, which was instituted in 1653, together with Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, and one of the infamous group that composed the cabal ministry. Before he was thirty years of age, he was joined with Desborough to execute the office of lord high-admiral of England; soon after which he was joined with the great Blake in the command of the fleet.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, his moderate principles led him to wish the reestablishment of the exiled king; accordingly, he soon became one of the principal agents in the restoration, by his influence on the fleet, as has been already seen; for which important service the king created him earl of Sandwich.

Since that time the transactions of his life have properly fallen within the subject of this work, and have been given in their proper places. It only remains to be observed, that the cause of his death was, at the time when it happened, very freely imputed to the want of support given him by the centre division of the fleet under the duke of York;

on the duke of York, and attacked him with all the fury of intrepid valour. For two hours the engagement was maintained with such activity, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it to have been

York; and (party-prejudice laid aside) the charge, at this distance of time, appears to be but too well supported. The duke does not seem to have possessed that share of personal courage which was requisite to carry a man through such desperate scenes of slaughter, as these sea-fights presented, without dismay. He had, once before, been engaged in the very thickest of the fight, and from the horrors of that dreadful day, had become a cautious commander.

The body of the earl was taken up floating on the water, and brought into Harwich, where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming, and honourable disposing, till his majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it. Sir Charles also sent his majesty the George found about the body of the earl, which remained, at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, except some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast. Upon which his majesty, out of his princely regard to the great deservings of the earl, and his unexampled performances, in this last act of his life, resolved to have his body brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral, due to his great quality and merits.

His body being taken out of one of his majesty's yachts, at Deptford, on the 3d of July 1672, and laid, in the most solemn manner, in a sumptuous barge, proceeded by water to Westminster bridge; attended by the king's barges, his royal highness the duke of York's; as also with the several barges of the nobility, lord-mayor, and the several companies of the city of London, adorned suitable to the melancholy occasion, with trumpets, and other music, that sounded the deepest notes. On passing by the Tower, the great guns there were discharged, as well as at Whitehall; and, about five o'clock in the evening, the body being taken out of the barge at Westminster bridge, there was a proceeding to the abbey-church with the highest magnificence. Eight earls were assistant to his son Edward earl of Sandwich,

been the most obstinate of thirty-two actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ship was so shattered that he was obliged to quit her, and hoist his flag on board another; and his division was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joseph Jordan, who succeeded Sandwich, and had by this time completed the confusion of Van Ghent's ships, which Sandwich began to spread, bore down to the succour of the duke, and his red squadron. The battle was then more equally maintained, and continued, without any decisive advantage being gained, till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The Dutch were rescued from a most disgraceful defeat, by the scattered squadron which Van Ghent had commanded, rallying when they found themselves no longer pressed by the English, and bravely bearing down to the assistance of their countrymen. Cornelius Evertzen, vice-admiral of Zeeland, was killed, and De Ruyter and Allemond narrowly escaped being burnt by fire-ships. The English lost the *Royal James*, and four smaller men of war. The Dutch lost three of their best ships, one of which was sunk, another burnt, and a third, (the *Staveren*), taken; a fourth, called the *Great Holland*, commanded by captain Brakell, (who had gained such honour by breaking the boom at Chatham, and

wich, chief mourner, and most of the nobility and persons of quality in town, gave their assistance to his interment, in the duke of Albemarle's vault, on the north side of king Henry the VIIIth's chapel *.

John, the present earl of Sandwich, is the fourth of that title, and the fifth lineal descendant from this great man; his father dying in the life-time of his grandfather; he came into possession of this earldom in 1729.

* Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 296.

thereby

thereby effecting every thing which followed in consequence of it) was entirely disabled.

The French Squadron was only engaged during the onset, for as soon as the battle grew fierce they cautiously withdrew, not from any natural cowardice, though the French navy was, at that time, little qualified to encounter such veterans in arms as the Dutch then were; but the views of the French court led them, to play off the two maritime powers against each other. The French however, notwithstanding all their backwardness to fight, lost two men of war, together with their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. The English sustained a very heavy loss by the death of many men of note: besides the earl of Sandwich, who was a national loss, fell captain Digby, of the *Henry*; captain Pierce, of the *St. George*; captain Waterworth, of the *Ann*; Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the *Cambridge*; Sir John Fox, of the *Prince*; and captain Hannam, of the *Triumph*. Among the volunteers there fell lord Maidstone, Mr. Montagu, the sixth son of the earl of Sandwich, Sir Philip Carteret, and Sir Charles Harboard. Of private men about two thousand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think it advisable to publish any list, their loss therefore can only be conjectured, but by the suppression of it it may be supposed to be too great to be told.

The truth is, the republic of Holland, at that time, was in too perilous a situation to acknowledge a defeat at sea; it was therefore carefully suppressed, and every endeavour used to make it appear a victory.

When these events happened at sea, Louis had made great progress in the conquest of Holland, on the side of Germany. This summer he kept his court at Utrecht, and his troops were making in-

curfions within a league of Amsterdam itself. Thus was the greatest mercantile republic that ever existed, upon the very brink of utter destruction. The richest families, and those who were most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The ships capable to make this voyage were numbered; and it was found, that fifty thousand families might be embarked, to take refuge in their new country. The Dutch would no longer have existed but in the most distant part of the East-Indies; and these European provinces, which subsist only by their Asiatic riches, their commerce, and by their liberty, would, on a sudden, have been ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, which is the staple and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand men, would presently have become only one vast lake. All the adjacent lands require immense expences, and many thousands of men, to raise and maintain their banks; and they would probably, at once, have wanted the support both of men and money, and would at last have been overwhelmed by the sea, leaving Louis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry.

Four deputies came to the king's camp, to implore his clemency in the name of a republic, which, six months before, had thought itself the arbiter between kings. The deputies were not received by the ministers of Louis XIV. with that politeness so peculiar to the French; who, even in the severity of government, retain their civility and complaisance. Louvois, the minister, who was proud and morose, and more capable to serve his master well, than to render him beloved, received these suppliants with haughtiness, and even with the insult of
...sallery.

raillery. They were made to return several different times : but at last the king ordered his determination to be declared to them ; which was, that the States should give up to him all they possessed on the other side of the Rhine, comprehending Nimegen, together with several other towns and forts in the heart of their territories ; that they should pay him twenty millions ; that the French should be masters of all the great roads of Holland, both by land and water, without paying toll ; that the catholic religion should be every-where restored ; that the republic should, every year, send an ambassador extraordinary to France with a gold medal, whereon should be engraved an acknowledgment, that they held their liberties of Louis XIV. and ; finally, that they should also make satisfaction to the king of England, and the princes of the empire, particularly those of Cologne and Munster, by whom Holland still continued to be ravaged.

These conditions of a peace, which approached so near to slavery, appeared intolerable ; and the rigour of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage. The Dutch resolved to die with their arms in their hands. The hearts and the hopes of the nation were all turned upon the prince of Orange. The people became enraged against the grand pensionary, who had sued for peace ; and their seditious fury soon joined the designs and animosity of the prince's party. An attempt was immediately made against the life of the grand pensionary John De Witt, and Cornelius his brother, both whom the populace at the Hague murdered. They immediately cut the dykes which kept out the sea ; and the country houses, which are innumerable about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring towns, such as Leyden and Delft, were overwhelmed. The country people did

not repine at seeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amsterdam appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of war, which had depth of water sufficient to make them be stationed round the city. There was the greatest scarcity among the inhabitants; especially of fresh water, which was sold for six-pence half a pint: but they considered these necessities as more tolerable than slavery. It is worthy the observation of posterity, that Holland, when thus distressed and overwhelmed on land, and, as it were, no longer a State, yet continued formidable at sea; which, indeed, is the true element of this people *.

These distresses of the Dutch, and the boundless ambition of the French monarch, procured them many powerful friends, who could not be indifferent spectators of the ruin of those provinces. The emperor Leopold, the great elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, all joined in supporting the Dutch; and as no more conquests could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, Louis thought it advisable to leave his army, and return home. Soon after, the army being weakened by numerous garrisons in the towns which had been reduced, was obliged to retreat before the prince of Orange, then elected stadtholder, who recovered all that the French had seized.

There was no ally on whom the Dutch more depended for assistance than the parliament of England, and the king's necessities obliged him, at length, to summon a parliament to meet on the 4th of February 1673.

To this parliament Britain, perhaps, owes the liberty it now enjoys. Charles opened the session,

* Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. Vol. I. p. 139.

by

by observing, in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his resolutions to maintain his grant of indulgence; and that, instead of diminishing, he intended to encrease his army: a declaration which discovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to obtain his will by an army, to whose establishment parliament had not consented. But the house of commons, with a true English spirit, remonstrated, in an address, that the dispensing power he had asserted in his declaration, did not belong to his crown. Charles gave an ambiguous answer, and in a second address, they insisted on one more explicit. In another, they pressed him to dismiss the popish officers of his army; and in a fourth, to disband the army itself, as soon as the peace was concluded. They passed the famous test-act against popery, which struck the staff of lord high-treasurer from the hand of lord Clifford, and that of lord high-admiral from the hand of the king's brother. Charles now declining a conflict with his parliament, relinquished his pretension to a dispensing power; breaking, with his own hands, the seal affixed to the declaration of indulgence; and declared his inclination to give satisfaction to his people, and to expose his new ministers to their vengeance.

The cabal, to escape that vengeance, made the same sudden turn with their master. Shaftesbury, who was now chancellor, saying aloud, "that the prince who forsook himself, deserved to be forsaken," put himself at the head of the opposition, and urged the recall of the unconstitutional measures which he himself had advised; and Buckingham prepared to follow his example. Arlington, who had been disobliged by Clifford's being appointed treasurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman, privately paid his court to the prince of Orange, and

and joined the popular party in parliament. The furious Clifford, filled with indignation, retired into the country; and Lauderdale alone adhering to Charles, pressed him, in vain, to march the Scotch army into England. But not being able to prevail, joined in the national complaints against the duke. The commons however, to recompence the king for his concessions, granted him a supply, and passed an act of general pardon and indemnity, which screened the above ministers from all farther enquiry.

Although the chief attention of the belligerent powers was confined to the vicinity of their respective states, yet Sir Tobias Bridges, with six ships from Barbadoes, took from the Dutch the Island of Tobago, in the West-Indies; and also St. Eustatia, the latter of which was re-taken soon after by the Dutch admiral, Evertzen. On the other hand, the Hollanders possessed themselves of St. Helena; but this also was soon recovered, the English surprising the Dutch garrison, at a place where only two persons a-breast could climb up the rocks.

But though the king had, for some time, tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and the money granted him by parliament enabled him to equip a fleet, the command of which he gave to prince Rupert, under whom commanded the earl of Ossory, and Sir Edward Spragge; a French fleet, commanded by d'Etrées, joined them. The combined fleets set sail towards the coasts of Holland, on the 28th of May, and found the enemy lying at anchor within the sands of Schonvelt, in Zeeland.

There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides,
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as well as from the smoke and darkness, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder therefore that accounts of those battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when delivered by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obstinacy on either side; but whether the Dutch, or the allies first retired, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss, in the former of these actions, fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, dissident of their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons; and they thereby exposed them to all the fire of the enemy. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement.

: It was sufficient glory to De Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a descent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the present circumstances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was also suspected not to favour the king's projects for subduing Holland, or enlarging this authority at home; and from those motives he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reason to expect.

It

It is indeed remarkable, that during this war, though the English, with their allies, much overmatched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted at the present measures, which they deemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleasure, have destroyed, than even the enemy themselves.

If prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted, and he again put to sea*.

About the middle of the month of July prince Rupert was again on the Dutch coast, having on board his fleet the troops intended for making a descent. A Dutch East-India ship, richly laden, was taken, and De Ruyter bent on getting rid of such troublesome guests, bore down to engage the two fleets. Prince Rupert hereupon sent repeated orders to the French admiral to make sail, which however he very faintly complied with. The slow manner in which the French advanced, gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind,

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VII. p. 598.

which

which he did not neglect. Early, on the 11th of August, he bore down upon the confederates, who were formed in good order; the French in the van, prince Rupert in the centre, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this situation the French had a fair opportunity of getting the wind of the enemy, which however they neglected. The English fleet consisted of about sixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of about seventy: so that the royal fleets were indisputably superior to that of the republic*. Brankert was opposed to d'Estrées, De Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Spragge. It is remarkable, that in all actions these brave admirals last-mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy their valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle as if there was no mean between death and victory †.

The French fleet in general, rear-admiral Martel alone excepted, kept aloof; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of De Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, shone out with distinguished lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies with whom he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear-admiral, who had been separated from him, he hastened to the relief of Spragge, who was hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Spragge first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the *St. George*; while Tromp was, for a like reason,

* Balfage Annales.
p. 309.

† Hume's History of England, Vol. VII.

obliged to quit his ship, the *Golden Lion*, and go on board the *Comet*. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their seconds. Ossory, rear-admiral to Spragge, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the *St. George* terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Spragge was leaving her in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge, when a shot, which had passed through the *St. George*, took his boat and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself*. Prince Rupert, perceiving that whole division

* Little is known of this officer before the first battle which was fought with the Dutch in the war of 1665, on the 3d of June, when he commanded a man of war, and so much distinguished himself as to be particularly noticed by the duke of York; and the king visiting his navy soon after, conferred on him the honour of knighthood. He was likewise in the four days battle which was fought in June 1666, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, wherein he was equally conspicuous for his courage and conduct. In the succeeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he was advanced to a flag, under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the blue squadron, who maintained an obstinate engagement with Van Tromp's division, which he greatly shattered, and killed the Dutch rear-admiral. But the action in which he stood foremost, and alone, was in the defence of Sheerness, when that fortress was assailed by the Dutch, on the 10th of June 1667. Here he had every inconvenience to supply; a small garrison, unfinished fortifications, and the place unprepared for a defence; yet his personal bravery and good conduct served to counterbalance all these defects for a considerable time; but when he found it no longer possible to maintain his ground, he quitted that untenable post, and betook himself to the ships, as the only effectual means of annoying the enemy in their bold career. All the force that he could assemble together was no more than five frigates, seventeen fire-ships, and some tenders; with these he gave a very effectual check to

division almost totally disabled, sent three fire-ships among the Dutch fleet, which was likewise greatly damaged, and made signal for the French squadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed

to Van Nefle, when he attempted to penetrate up the river, after the attempt that had been made upon Landguard fort.

The talents of this gentleman were not merely professional; for his polite manners and extensive knowledge procured him to be appointed negotiator in more than one treaty of consequence; but it may perhaps be thought little to his reputation, that he was appointed to settle some alliances, when that destructive confederacy against Holland was formed. His great patron was the duke of York; and as he was indebted to him for his advancement, so was he ever ready to promote his designs. Whatever were his religious principles, it is evident that he was not an open and avowed papist, as he went out an admiral the summer after the test-act was passed.

His gallant conduct in the Mediterranean against the piratical States of Barbary has been already related, and whilst upon that employment, he was certainly exceeded by none, in the essential services he rendered his country, Blake alone excepted. When returning to England from this honourable service, he fell in with Sir Robert Holmes, off the Isle of Wight, who was secretly sent with a squadron, feloniously to make prize of the Dutch Smyrna, or Levant fleet; so much were honour and justice discarded by the administration of England at that time! Going on board Sir Robert's ship, Spragge informed him in discourse, without guessing at the importance of the intelligence, that he had sailed several days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that they were but a little way off. Holmes gave no intimation to Spragge of his destination, not choosing to have a sharer in the honour and wealth which he expected to acquire; but as the event did not realize the hopes which had been raised, it blasted his reputation with the world; and this reserve produced a quarrel between him and Sir Edward Spragge, which was never afterwards adjusted*.

* Burnet's own Times.

obeyed this order while the enemy were in confusion, occasioned by the fire-ships, a victory would probably have been obtained; but the French admiral paid no regard to the signal, and the greatest part

Sir Edward was concerned in the memorable fight of Solbay, in which he sunk a Dutch ship of sixty guns.

When, by the passing of the test-act, the duke of York was drawn from his command at sea, and prince Rupert appointed to command the grand fleet against the Dutch, Spragge was preferred before Holmes to the blue flag, not with the cordial approbation of prince Rupert, between whom and our admiral a coolness subsisted. In the battle which was fought on the 28th of May, 1673, the public service does not appear to have suffered by the misunderstanding of the commanders. Sir Edward fought Van Tromp seven hours, forced him to quit his ship no less than three times, and that brave Dutchman was in imminent danger either of being killed, or taken, whilst he fought in the fourth, from which he was rescued by De Ruyter; Sir Edward himself was twice obliged to change his ship. On this occasion, prince Rupert, laying aside all private pique, gave a very honourable testimony to Sir Edward's conduct, in his letter to the earl of Arlington. "Sir Edward Spragge," says his highness, "did, on his side, maintain the fight with so much courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way to such a degree, that had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and the king would have had a better account of them." In the battle fought the week after that of Solbay, Sir Edward Spragge and Van Tromp again singled each other out for combatants. Again the English admiral prevailed; and he was on the point of determining the fate of his rival, when the vigilance of De Ruyter again snatched him from defeat.

In the battle which closed his career of glory, his impatience to attack Van Tromp led him to slight the orders of the commander in chief; for instead of fighting by the side of prince Rupert, he bore down on the division which his antagonist commanded, and having engaged his squadron, continued fighting for many hours, at a distance from the fleet.

part of the English fleet had been so roughly handled, that the prince could not pursue his advantage: he therefore collected his straggling ships, and hauled off to the English coasts, leaving the victory undecided.

Notwith-

fleet. Sir Edward was at first on board the Royal Prince, and Tromp in the Golden Lion; but after a dispute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral avoided coming to a close fight, Sir Edward's ship was so disabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Tromp did on board the Comet. Then the fight began again with greater fury than before. At last, the St. George was so battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles; but before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon shot; upon which the crew endeavoured to get back again; but before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned; his hands taking so dead a hold on the side of the boat, that when it came to float, he was found with his head and shoulders above water*.

Thus fell the brave Sir Edward Spragge, by which Van Tromp might boast his superior good fortune, but neither a greater share of intrepidity nor naval skill than his vanquished foe. We are told by Echard, that when Spragge took leave of the king, on going aboard the fleet for the last time, he promised his majesty that he would bring him Van Tromp alive or dead, or else lose his own life in the attempt†. These two dauntless commanders seem to have singled each other out, from a vehement desire of deciding by death, or victory, that disputed preeminence which could no otherwise be awarded. Each took his command at the same time; the one succeeding the earl of Sandwich, the other Van Ghent. Dutch writers speak of his death with that concern, which a brave man's death will always excite; and describe him as one of the boldest men, and best commanders, that ever fought at sea. Our own writers are liberal

* An exact Relation of the Actions of the Fleet under Prince Rupert, &c. p. 14, 21. Bagnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. II. p. 420. De Neuville, Vol. IV. p. 204. Vie de Ruyter, p. 574. † History of England, p. 394.

Notwithstanding all the advantages which the Dutch gained on the blue squadron, yet they neither took nor sunk one English man of war; and killed but two captains, Sir William Reeves, and captain Havard, besides the gallant admiral Spragge; and no great number of private men. On their side they lost two vice-admirals, Sweers and Liefde, three captains, and about one thousand private men. The benefits they drew from this battle was great, for they thereby opened their ports, which before the battle were entirely shut up, and defeated all thoughts of an invasion. When Martell, the French admiral, remonstrated with the captains of his own division for deserting him so basely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the commander in chief not to obey his signals. On his return to France, Dr. Campbell asserts, from the authority of a pamphlet published soon after the action, and written by a person of consequence on board the English fleet, Martel was sent to the bastille, for the active part he had taken in the engagement *.

* *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. II. p. 317.

beral in their praises of his valour; among the rest, bishop Parker describes the last scene of his life as follows: "There was a remarkable fight between Spragge and Tromp; for these having mutually agreed to attack each other, not out of hatred, but a thirst of glory; they engaged with all the rage, or as it were, with all the sport of war. They came so close to one another, that like an army of foot, they fought at once with their guns and swords. Almost at every turn, both their ships, though not sunk, were yet bored through, their cannon being discharged within common gun-shot: neither did one ball fall in vain into the sea; but each ship pierced the other, as if they had fought with spears." †

† *History of his own Times*, p. 157.

Soon

Soon after this battle the English returned into the Thames; and the French Squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that they employed a whole month in reaching Brest.

The king of Sweden had offered his mediation to adjust the differences between the contending powers, and a congress was thereupon opened at Cologne. But these conferences were not successful. After this battle the States-general wrote to Charles, wherein they expressed their earnest desire of peace, and their true sense of the obstacles that had hitherto retarded it. In this letter they spoke very freely to the king of his ministers, and of his ally; they represented to him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a step, a separate peace must prove, which would give umbrage only to the French, and please all the rest of Europe. Farther, to induce the king to peace, they represented the base behaviour of the French in the last sea-fights, and that an offer had been made them from France of a separate peace, without any respect being had to England. Charles, by this time, perceived that it would be impossible to maintain the war while the parliament was so determined to make the redress of grievances precede the granting of supplies, he therefore made a virtue of necessity, and laid the terms proposed by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish minister at London, who was invested with full powers to treat of peace, before his parliament; and on their passing a vote, humbly desiring him to proceed in a treaty with the States, in order to a speedy peace, he directed Sir William Temple to negotiate it with the Spanish envoy. In fifteen days from the beginning of the conference the treaty was concluded, 28th of February, 1674; it consisted of a renewal of the peace of Breda, with several

veral additions. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive manner; commercial regulations were made; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; the English planters at Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure; and the States agreed to pay the king of England the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds sterling, towards defraying the expence of his armaments. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that she could no longer remain neuter, if hostilities were continued against Holland; and a sensible decay of trade was foreseen, in case a rupture should ensue with that kingdom. The prospect of this loss contributed very much to increase the national aversion to the war, and to enliven the joy for its conclusion*. There was in the French service a body of English troops, to the number of ten thousand men, who had acquired honour in every action in which they fought, and had greatly contributed to the rapid successes which the French king, at one time, was crowned with. These troops were very obnoxious to the Dutch, but Charles pleaded that he was bound in honour not to recall them; he however pledged himself to the States, by a secret article, not to allow them to be recruited. But this engagement his partiality to France prevented him from observing.

Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they still continued to examine grievances. They insisted on the king's disbanding his land-forces and guards; they appointed a committee to

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 514.

consider

consider the militia-law passed in the Scottish parliament, authorising the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to enquire into the state of Ireland, with respect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the habeas-corpus; and brought in another, obliging the members of both houses to take the test-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this spirit in the parliament, but he rendered these measures ineffectual, by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himself from all foreign and domestic disputes, he relapsed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleasure.

The duke of York had now married Maria D'Este, sister to Francis, duke of Modena; the princess being of the Romish communion, the match was extremely disrelished by the nation. He had before married Anne, a daughter of the earl of Clarendon, by whom he had two daughters, the princess Maria and princess Ann.

In the latter end of the year 1675, Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to the Mediterranean, to chastise the pyrates of Tripoli, who had interrupted our trade in that sea, and coming before that place in the dead of the night, manned out his boats, and sent them into the port, under the conduct of his lieutenant, Mr. Cloudesley Shovel, (afterwards Sir Cloudesley) who first seizing the enemy's guard-boat, went on undiscovered, and surprized all the Tripoline ships which lay in port, being four in number; having burnt them, he returned in triumph to the fleet, without the loss of one man *. This bold and effectual stroke brought

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 404.

the Tripolines to conclude a peace with the English admiral, in which they made all the concessions that were desired.

The war between France and Holland still continued to be maintained in Flanders; the prince of Orange, who headed the army of the States, displayed all the skill of the most experienced general, with the bravery of a dauntless hero, and successfully made head against all the force which Louis could bring down against him.

The English nation could not quietly remain a spectator of this unequal conflict; they felt a sympathetic commiseration for the States of Holland, being powerfully engaged in their interest from the principles of religious and civil liberty, which had been equally contended for by both countries. The commons therefore addressed the king, entreating him not to defer the entering into such alliances as might secure his own dominions, and the liberties of Europe; and in case war with the French king should be the result of his measures, they promised to grant him such aids and supplies, as would enable him to support the honour and interest of the nation. The king replied, that the only way to prevent danger was to put him in a condition to make preparation for his security. The parliament looking on this as a demand for money, empowered the king to borrow, on the additional excise, two hundred thousand pounds, at seven per cent. The king was not satisfied with this parsimonious grant; he therefore let them know, that unless they supplied him with six hundred thousand pounds upon new funds, it would not be possible for him, without exposing the nation to manifest danger, to speak or act those things, which would answer the end of their addresses. The house took this message into consideration, but before

fore they came to any resolution, the king sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they should not repent any trust which they might repose in him for the safety of the kingdom; that he would not, on any consideration, break credit with them, or employ their money to other uses, than those for which they intended it; but he would not hazard either his own safety, or theirs, by taking vigorous measures, or forming new alliances, till he were in a better condition both to defend his subjects, and offend his enemies. This speech brought affairs to a short issue. The king required them to trust him with a large sum; he pawned his royal word for their security: they must either run the risque of losing their money, or fail of those alliances which they had projected; and at the same time declare to all the world, the highest distrust of their sovereign. But the former conduct of the king had excited very reasonable jealousies in his people. He had not scrupled to demand supplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting measures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpose, the supplies which he had obtained by those delusive pretences. They saw, too clearly, that his union with France, during the war against Holland, was founded on projects subversive of the rights of his people; and as the same union was still secretly maintained, the same projects might justly be supposed to exist. They clearly saw, that the king only wanted to obtain the money, which he meant, notwithstanding his royal word, to squander in an ignoble and prodigal manner. The making use of such dishonourable means therefore, to so ignoble an end, rendered him utterly unworthy the confidence of his people.

The house of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Some were enlisted in the court party by offices, nay, a few by bribes secretly given them; a practice first begun by Clifford, a dangerous minister: but great numbers were attached merely by inclination, so far as they esteemed the measures of the court agreeable to the interests of the nation. Private views and faction had likewise drawn several into the country party; but there were also many of that party, who had no other object than the public good. These disinterested members, on both sides, fluctuated between the factions, and gave the superiority sometimes to the court, sometimes to the opposition*. In the present emergence, a general distrust of the king prevailed; and the parliament resolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they "besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States-general of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful to that end." They supported their advice with reasons, and promised speedy and effectual supplies, for preserving his majesty's honour, and ensuring the safety of the public. The king pretended the highest anger at this address, which he represented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in severe terms, and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the king both might, with ease, have pre-

* Temple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 458.

served

served the balance of power in Europe, which it has since cost this island a great expence of blood and treasure to restore, and might, by perseverance, have at last regained, in some tolerable measure, after all past errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithstanding *his* momentary appearance of vigour against France and popery, and *their* momentary inclinations to rely on his faith: *he* was still believed to be, at the bottom, engaged in the same interests, and *they* soon relapsed into distrust and jealousy. The secret memoirs of this reign, which have since been published*, prove, beyond a doubt, that the king had, at this time, concerted measures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view therefore, even when he pawned his *royal word* to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he trusted, that while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct †.

A match was now proposed between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary, eldest daughter to the duke of York. She, and her sister Anne, had been educated in the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange seemed to relish the prospect of such a marriage. Charles at first was neutral, or rather seemed averse to such an alliance, which he

* Such as the letters which passed betwixt Danby and Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris; Temple's Memoirs, and his Letters. In these last, we see that the king never made any proposals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have always been concerted with the French ambassador, Vol. I. p. 439.—In Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 103, it appears, that the king had signed himself, without the participation of his ministers, a secret treaty with France, and had obtained a pension on the promise of his neutrality: a fact, which renders his *royal word*, solemnly given to his subjects, one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts, that ever proceeded from a throne. † Hume's History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 32.

knew

knew must be extremely disagreeable to his brother. But when the earl of Danby, who warmly promoted it, represented that such an union would, most probably, bring over the prince of Orange to the views of Charles, the king began to see it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to visit England, after the campaign of 1677 should be closed. The prince accordingly arrived in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well-pleased with the character and person of Mary; and until he had had an opportunity of being acquainted with the lady, he declined entering with the king into the subject of the marriage; for so opposite were the sentiments of this prince from those of persons of his rank, that he declared he placed a great part of his happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. When the prince discovered his attachment, Charles concluded he should find him disposed to yield a ready acquiescence to his views; but he found the young prince refuse to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage should be consummated. He foresaw, he said, from the situation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expose himself to the reproach of having sacrificed their interests to promote his own purposes. Charles still believed that that Roman inflexibility and virtue of his nephew would, at length, be brought to yield to the blandishments of love and ambition, and hoping, at last, to triumph over such immaculate honour, he protracted the day of marriage. William was too quick-sighted to be made the dupe of his uncle's intrigues; he therefore told Sir William Temple, that he heartily repented coming to England,

land, desiring him to tell the king, that he was determined to depart in two days; but before he went, the king, he said, must choose the terms on which they should hereafter live together: he was sure it must be like the greatest friends, or the greatest enemies. The king was intimidated by the resolute deportment of the young prince; he knew him to be extremely popular in England, and that he had maintained a correspondence, during the last war, with those illustrious patriots that opposed the corrupt measures of the court-party. Temple and Danby did not fail to display the mischievous consequences that would result from a rupture with the prince of Orange. Charles, struck with the representation of the evils resulting from a quarrel, resolved instantly to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honesty, he told Temple that the marriage was concluded, and desired him to inform his brother the duke of it, as of an affair already resolved on. The duke seemed surprized, but gave a ready compliance, saying, it was always a maxim with him, to yield an assent to whatever he found to be the king's pleasure. Charles agreed to the prince's own terms; and the portion of the princess was fixed at forty thousand pounds. This match was the only measure, during this unpopular reign, that gave general satisfaction; all parties strove who should applaud it most. The city of London welcomed the news with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and approbation. The lord-mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence. An alliance with a prince, descended from a noble race of heroes, himself retaining all the virtues of his ancestry, was a joyful event to a people breathing after freedom, who had, through that whole century, a short period only excepted, been governed by a succession

succession of princes, who had made the welfare of the nation subservient to their own ambition.

Immediately upon the marriage, Charles and his nephew entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, the terms of which, after much altercation, were at length adjusted. The prince of Orange undertook to lay the conditions before the States, and use all his influence to obtain their concurrence, whilst Charles engaged to bring over the French king to them; at the same time expressing his firm adherence to this plan of pacification, and that he would come to an open rupture with Louis, should he refuse the proffered mediation. The prince having now accomplished every public as well as private object of his journey to England, returned with his bride to Holland.

An ambassador was soon after sent from England to the court of France, to notify this agreement. The French king suppressed his resentment on the occasion. He told Mr. De Duras, the envoy, that the king, his master, knew he might always command a peace, but he thought it was hard to part with some of those towns in Flanders, where he had expended large sums on the fortifications; he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but, even with regard to these, he would send instructions to Barillon, his ambassador at London.

The French king knew that there was one argument which would always weigh with such a necessitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received secret instructions to relinquish, if necessary, all the towns except Tournay, and to even promise an equivalent for that, if the success of the treaty rested on such a concession; but that minister caajoled the king in such a manner, that his agreement with the prince of Orange was soon forgotten, and

and a negotiation of a very different nature set on foot.

Charles, like an Asiatic prince, usually passed a great part of his time in the apartments of his concubines, where the clamours of his people were never suffered to obtrude. Mademoiselle Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth, had long been his favourite mistress, and engrossed the chief share of her monarch's attention; here, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambassador, a man of polite conversation, who was admitted into all the amusements of that inglorious prince. On these occasions, when gaiety and pleasure had taken full possession of the king, the French mistress, and the French minister, brought over his thoughtless disposition to a subserviency to French politics. It was the charms of this sauntering, easy life, which, during his later years, attached Charles to his mistresses. By the insinuations of Barillon, and the duchess of Portsmouth, an order was procured, in one of those unguarded hours, which instantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One Du Cross, a French fugitive monk, was sent to Sir William Temple, directing him to apply to the Swedish ambassador, and persuade him not to insist on the conditions required from France, but to sacrifice to general peace those interests of Sweden. Du Cross, who had secretly received instructions from Barillon, published, every where in Holland, the commission with which he was entrusted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that the plan of conduct which Charles had so solemnly avowed, was already discarded, and that no reliance could be placed on any assurances which the English court might make. The king afterwards, when he saw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and said, laughing, that the rogue, Du Cross, had outwitted them all.

The character of this baneful prince is very strongly displayed in this long-protracted treaty, which, at length, brought on the peace of Nimeguen; we shall therefore relate another circumstance concerning him. In one period of the treaty, the States of Holland pressed Charles to an immediate declaration of war against France; and Sir William Temple, a very able and a very faithful minister, had undertaken, with the Dutch ambassador, to enforce their suit, by assuring the king that they would break off their negotiation with Louis, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding all evasion ineffectual, told Temple, that as the States were not averse to embrace the terms acceded to by France, and as Louis had offered to purchase, with a sum of money, his consent to that which he could not prevent, he saw no reason for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore ordered Temple to treat with Barillon; but that honest statesman refused to be concerned in such a scandalous negotiation. However, Charles was at no loss to find an abandoned courtier to drive the bargain for the sale of his master's honour. The treaty was no other than a stipulation of conditions, in consideration of which the king of England should forbear declaring in favour of the allies, notwithstanding the importunities of his parliament. The agreement was entered into, and three hundred thousand pounds was to be the purchase-money; but Barillon afterwards gave the king to understand, that his master would not pay the money, unless he (Charles) would engage, by a secret article, that he would never maintain an army that should exceed eight thousand men*; reckoning the whole force of the three kingdoms. Charles, on hearing this,

* To wit, three thousand men in Scotland, and the usual guards and garrisons in England, amounting to near five thousand men.—*Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix*, p. 161.

exclaimed,

exclaimed, "Cod's flesh! (his usual oath) does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises of making me absolute master of my people come to this? or does he think *that* a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Louis had now reached the height of that glory which ambition can afford. His ministers and negotiators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A successful war had been carried on against an alliance, composed of the greatest potentates in Europe. Considerable conquests had been made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An advantageous peace was at last concluded, in which he had prescribed the terms. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely to cement soon in any new confederacy. This state of France and of Europe, held out to this elevated genius a fair prospect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of surpassing the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England, says Mr. Hume, continued much longer in the same condition, and under the same government, it is not easy to conceive that he could have failed of his purpose*.

In proportion as this posture of affairs in Europe exalted the French, they excited indignation among the English, whose animosity, roused by terror, rose to a great height against that rival nation. They saw their king, instead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, sacrifice his own honour and interest, by acting a part subservient to the common enemy; and in every measure which he took, discovering either no view at all, or such an one as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain,

* History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 47.

Holland, the emperor, the princes of Germany, called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conspired to raise her to a station more glorious than she had ever before attained, her king, from mean pecuniary motives, had secretly sold her alliance to Louis, and was bribed into an interest contrary to that of his people. His active schemes, in conjunction with France, were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the spirited opposition of the parliament, was the only remedy on which the public could depend, for the many evils with which the nation was threatened, from the misguided counsels of the king. Such were the dispositions of men's minds at the conclusion of the peace of Nemeguen, in August 1678.

Whilst the general tranquillity of Europe was once more restored, England was filled with alarm at the apprehension of a popish plot. When the spirit of the English is once excited, they either find objects of resentment, or they make them. The rumour of a popish conspiracy was strongly propagated, and one Titus Oates soon appeared to give it confirmation. This man had been, from his youth, an indigent and infamous adventurer. He was abandoned, illiterate, and shameless; he had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices: he then professed himself a Roman catholic, went to the Jesuits college at St. Omer, but was dismissed, after some residence there, with infamy: he then returned to London, filled with projects of revenge; and the animosities of this unhappy nation soon appeared a proper place of nourishment to give this viper's virulence effect. He deposed upon oath, that the jesuits, several of whom he named, and who were soon after taken up, had tried the
king

king under the name of the *Black Bastard*, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that several attempts had been made without success, and that not only the king's brother, but even the queen, were privy to the design. The house of commons immediately took fire at this pretended conspiracy; they petitioned for removing the queen, rewarded Oates with a gratuity of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conspirators to be tried in the courts of justice. Several jesuits were tried; their very profession was at that time sufficient to destroy them; before a partial judge, and an exasperated jury, no mercy could be expected, and several, though apparently innocent, were executed as traitors, upon this miscreant's information. Coleman, the duke of York's secretary, Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Fenwick, and Whitebread, were among the first that fell; they died, declaring their innocence to the last moment of their lives.

In the mean time the national ferment was increased, by a new person starting up. This was James, duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities proper to engage the affections of the populace: he had a graceful person, and was brave, generous, affected popularity, and was tenderly beloved by his father. He had spent a part of his youth at Oxford, and another part in the army; so that he had the advantage of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross, a Scotchman, inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the king had been privately married to his mother. Ross even prevailed on Cosins, bishop of Durham,

to

to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; by observing, that if the duke of York should be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view; and if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a papist from the throne: circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the king, but which that prince disregarded. Yet, after Cosins's death, Ross spread a report, that he had left such a certificate behind him*; and this intelligence was greedily received by the multitude.

While the protestants were labouring to humble the papists, these two parties were, at the same time, mutually employed in ruining each other. Plot was set against plot; that contrived by Oates was called the *Jesuits Plot*; that set to oppose it was called by the name of the *Meal-tub Plot*, as the scheme of the conspiracy was found hidden in a meal-tub. The bottom of this affair it is difficult to discover. One Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burnt in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to every species of public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities: this man, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence, and the king's. This same man, under pretence of revealing new popish plots, had obtained access to Shaftesbury, and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both †.

* Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great-Britain*, Vol. I. p. 47.
 † Hume's *Hist. of England*, Vol. VIII. p. 124.

Of all these plots, tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom, it is said the earl of Shaftesbury was at the bottom. He possessed uncommon abilities, joined with turbulence, dissimulation, and unbounded ambition. It was thought that this nobleman, in revenge for his disgrace at court, headed the demagogue faction; and alarmed the king with unceasing dangers.

In February 1679 a new parliament was chosen, which soon discovered a firm spirit of opposition to the king's views. Charles now saw the expediency of conciliating the affections of his subjects; for which purpose he removed his brother, the duke of York, from his presence, and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his duchess, and daughter Anne, to Brussels. The king, in his speech to his new parliament, made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army, as for maintaining the navy. The commons having chosen Edward Seymour for their speaker, the king rejected their choice; and an obstinate dispute ensued. The parliament insisted, that presenting the new speaker, for the king's approbation, was a mere form; and he maintained that he had a right to disapprove of their choice, without disclosing the cause of his disapprobation. The question could not be decided by precedent; at length the affair was compromised; and one Gregory, a lawyer, being elected by the house, was confirmed by the king.

A bill was brought into the house of commons soon after its assembling, for the exclusion of James, duke of York, from the succession; the king, to qualify this spirit of resentment against his brother, proposed several restrictions to be laid on a popish successor; but these not equalling the views of parliament,

liament, were rejected; and, in the second session, the exclusion-bill passed the house of commons, by a majority of seventy-nine voices. Being carried to the house of peers, it produced a long and very warm debate, all which time the king was present; when it was at length thrown out. All the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them; the church of England, they imagined, or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery; which, though favoured by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation*.

The commons were greatly incensed at this repulse. All things threatened a renewal of the troubles from which the kingdom had been but lately set free. When the king applied for money to enable him to maintain Tangiers, which he declared his present revenues totally unable to defend, instead of complying, they voted such an address as was, in reality, a remonstrance, and one little less violent than that famous remonstrance which ushered in the civil wars. All the abuses of government, almost from the beginning of the reign, are there insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France,

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. p. 139. Whilst the house of commons discovered this violent rancour against the duke of York, for which indeed they had but too much reason; the following letter, from the prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, written from the Hague, 22d November, 1680, gives an admirable picture of the moderation of that prince.

"I am much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what passes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the duke. God bless him, and grant that the king and his parliament may agree, without which I foresee, infallibly, an imminent danger for the king, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe. All affairs here are, as every where else, in suspense, to see the issue of this great session. May the divine goodness end it for his own glory, the good and satisfaction of the king, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe. I am, and always will be, without reserve, entirely yours."—*Dairymple's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 303.*

the prorogation and dissolution of parliament; and as all these measures, as well as the several plots which had either been discovered, or supposed, are therein ascribed to the machinations of papists, it was plainly insinuated, that the king had, all along, laid under the influence of that party, and was, in reality, the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of his people.

Among the acts passed by this parliament, in favour of liberty, was the habeas-corpus bill; and we, at present, owe our absolute security from arbitrary imprisonment, chiefly to the patriots of that parliament. The great charter had laid the foundation of this inestimable privilege; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from ministers and judges. By the act of habeas-corpus, it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse, to any prisoner, a writ of habeas-corpus; by which the gaoler is directed to produce, in court, the body of the prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lies within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

The year 1680 is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory. The party in the opposition compared the courtiers to the Irish banditti, called Tories; and they, in return, expressed their contempt of the anti-courtiers, by classing them under the title of Whigs; a

term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were supposed to live upon a kind of butter-milk, called whig in that country. From these beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which still serve to distinguish parties in England.

Whilst England was thus rent with civil broils, the spirit of the people being at length incensed at the shameless manner in which the interests of the nation were sacrificed to the basest purposes, the noble colony of Pennsylvania, in North-America, took its rise. This country had hitherto been chiefly a part of Virginia, the remainder making a part of the colony of New-York. Sir William Penn, the admiral, who, among other services which he rendered his country, was greatly assisting in procuring to England the possession of Jamaica, as had been shewn in the transactions of those times, was fortunate enough to stand on good terms with the first Charles, afterwards with Cromwell, and then on the reestablishment of regal government, with Charles the Second. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had advanced several considerable sums of money to government; and these debts were not discharged at his death. It was proposed to his son, Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, that, instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. By the charter granted to him, 28th February, 1680, it was ceded to him, as the manner of such grants then was, almost as a sovereignty; and he determined to make it the retreat of those of his religious persuasion, who were made uneasy at home, through the bigotry and persecution of spiritual courts, and other intollerant measures. In 1681 Mr. Penn first
carried

carried out with him a large embarkation of those quakers, which were afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there, he found many English families already settled, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations.

His first arrival in the New World was signified by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property, by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himself, as much as possible, a legal possessor of the territory; and by the use he made of it, supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two

first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawns of reason, happiness, and humanity rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man, who acknowledged a God, to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the supreme being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

Desirous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid, as much as possible, every kind of corruption, it was ordained, that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient;

cient; but a majority of two-thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift, than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace? Penn assigned one thousand acres of land for twenty pounds sterling. Those who were not able to purchase any considerable possessions, received smaller allotments of land, in proportion to the numbers of their children and dependents, on paying a quit-rent of about a penny an acre. Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly, the advantages of that established by Penn, were manifested in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day. The climate however is naturally very wholesome, and has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock, or sand; and the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons.

When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the



the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on, in all parts, with such vigour and success, as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans into that country. It has been the joint-work of quakers, anabaptists, members of the church of England, methodists, presbyterians, moravians, lutherans, and catholics.

"Those colonies," says the Abbé Raynal, "which enjoy, almost exclusively, some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indico, grow rich more rapidly; Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture, and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed on a more firm and permanent basis *."

But to return to the domestic transactions which closed the inglorious reign of Charles the Second. The king having now, for more than thirty years, uniformly spurned at the interest of his people, and sacrificed it, on every occasion, to the basest views; a general discontent had diffused itself over all sects and parties. Those bewitching manners, which, in a youthful monarch, had reconciled the nation to his wildest excesses, had, by this time, lost their charm; besides, as nothing is more morose and

churlish than a worn-out debauchee, Charles had changed his disposition as he began to decline into years. He found it necessary however to call another parliament, which he appointed to meet him at Oxford, the city of London having long taken the lead in measures of opposition. The new parliament however, seemed still more turbulent than the former; the members came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight, and not to deliberate. The representatives of London were, in particular, attended by a numerous body of horsemen, wearing cockades, inscribed, *No Popery, no Slavery*. The same spirit that had animated the former parliament, seemed redoubled in this. They insisted on the bill for excluding the duke of York from the succession; they persisted in declaring that all papists should be banished, and their children educated in the protestant religion; that the doctrine of passive obedience was injurious to the rights of society. In a word, they were displeased with every measure the king proposed, and prepared to recall the former aristocracy into the kingdom. Charles, seeing that nothing could be obtained from so restiff an assembly, once more dissolved his parliament, with a steadfast resolution of never calling another.

From the moment the royal and parliamentary commotions were ended, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power, and was resolved to leave to his successor, the faults and the misfortunes of his administration. He became suspicious, austere, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs. He resolved to humble the presbyterians; these were divested of their employments, and their places filled with such as approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy

clergy testified their zeal to the court by their writings and sermons; the partizans of the king were most numerous; but those of the opposite faction were more enterprising; the mutual animosity of each was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king openly declared himself at the head of a faction. The city of London particularly felt under his resentment; he deprived them of their charter, and only restored it when he had subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Such an arbitrary administration could not fail of exciting new insurrections; several noblemen, among whom were the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, the lords Shaftesbury, Russel, Grey, and others, entered into a combination to destroy the king, which was called afterwards the *Rye-house Plot* *. The conspirators met at the house of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, where they proposed a rising in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. They agreed upon a declaration for justifying their design; but the scheme was at first delayed, from the difficulty of the preparations previous to taking the field; and soon after discovered by one Keiling, who expected to earn a pardon for himself, by impeaching his associates. As the plot began to open, new informers came in; Monmouth absconded; Grey escaped the messenger who had been sent to arrest him; Russel was committed to the Tower; and Shaftesbury, who foresaw the danger, had taken refuge in Holland. Lord Essex, Sidney, the famous legislator, and Hampden, grandson to him of that name who was slain during the civil wars, were informed against, and committed to confinement.

* An. Dom. 1683.

The principal informer, upon this occasion, was lord Howard, a man every way debauched, and who was willing to accept infamy for safety: by his evidence Russel and Sidney were condemned, both of whom died with that intrepidity which conscious virtue has, in every age, been found to inspire.

After the memory of these two renowned patriots has been revered for almost a century, a charge has been brought against lord Russel, of having privately sacrificed his own integrity, and the nation's interest, by leaguings with the French king against his sovereign. Against Algernon Sydney the accusation laid is still more atrocious; he is charged with having received from Barillon various sums of money, for farthering the same designs in the house of commons. With these facts Sir John Dalrymple lately surprized the world, and they are founded on the dispatches written by Barillon to his court, and now preserved in *Depot des Affaires etrangeres, at Versailles*. But until the character of Barillon can be proved to possess as much private virtue and public spirit as these steady adherents to the cause of liberty were ever acknowledged to be endowed with, a charge even so officially substantiated, ought surely to be little credited. The memory of these great men has acquired additional lustre by time, whilst that of the minister has been consigned among the herd of intriguing statesmen, who have promoted the schemes of unprincipled and ambitious princes. The most obvious and natural conclusion seems to be, that Barillon carried on a secret correspondence with some of the members of the house of commons, and actually advanced sums of money, (though not very considerable sums, the whole secret service money, for four years, amounting only to sixteen thousand pounds;) and being willing to give a consequential air to his

negotiations, as well as augment his own coffers, he made a base and unwarrantable use of the names of some of those great men that stood foremost in the cause of their country, by pretending to his court to have gained them over to the views of Louis XIV. whereas, in fact, they promoted such views no farther than as they tended to check and restrain the arbitrary designs of the crown, which were considered as the most alarming national evil of the two.

The severities exercised in the latter part of this reign arose chiefly from the influence of the duke of York, who was as much inclined to cruelty by nature, as his brother Charles was prone to forgiveness. His authority was become terrible even to the ministry; by his advice the king seized upon all the charters of the corporations, in order to extort money for having them renewed. Partiality and oppression were the instruments of his power, and bigotry and innovation the objects of his wish. At this period the reign of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Christendom, and new discontents and treasons were secretly diffusing their poison, while the spirit of liberty still struggled hard against the spirit of obedience, which the clergy attempted to inculcate. Another civil war threatened the nation, still more dreadful than the former, as the forces were more equally divided. But Charles happily died * before those calamities could return; he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The people, though they despised his administration, loved his person; they were willing to bear with the faults of one, whose whole behaviour was a continued instance of good-nature and affability; but they were by no

* 6th of February, 1684-5.

means

means willing to grant the same indulgence to his successor, whom they hated for his pride, his religion, his cruelty, and connections. He was unfit to walk in the irregular steps of his predecessor; and, when he pursued the same route, fatal experience soon convinced him, that he had at once mistaken himself, and the people he attempted to command.

Mr. Dalrymple has given a very important letter from Barillon, the French ambassador at the court of London, to Louis XIV. in the second volume of his *Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland*, by which it appears, that Charles the Second died in the Roman catholic faith. "The duke of York," says the ambassador, "made me come into the bed-chamber several times, and spoke to me of what was passing without doors, and of the assurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he should be proclaimed king the moment the king, his brother, was dead. I went out for some time to go to the duchess of Portsmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief; the physicians having taken all hopes from her: however, instead of speaking to me of her affliction, and the loss she was on the point of sustaining, she went into a small closet, and said to me, "Monsieur, the ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The king of England, at the bottom of his heart, is a catholic; but he is surrounded with protestant bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor speaks to him of God; I cannot with decency enter the room; besides that the queen is almost constantly there; the duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has not many of them to take the care he ought of the king's conscience; go and tell him I have

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conjured

conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the king's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will; lose no time, for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late."

"I returned instantly to find the duke of York, and begged him to make a pretence of going to the queen, who had left the king's room, and who having fainted, was just blooded. The room communicated with both apartments; I followed him to the queen's, and told him what the duchess of Portsmouth said to me. He recovered himself as from a deep lethargy, and said, "You are in the right; there is no time to lose. I will hazard all rather than not do my duty on this occasion." An hour after he returned under the same pretence of going to the queen, and told me he had spoken to the king his brother, and found him resolved not to take the sacrament which the protestant bishops had pressed him to receive; that this had surprised them much; but that one or other of them would remain always in the room, if he did not find a pretence to make every body leave it; in order that he might have an opportunity of speaking to the king his brother with freedom, and disposing him to make a formal renunciation of heresy, and confess himself to a catholic priest."

After much deliberation how to procure a man whose function should be unknown to those who attended on the dying king, they pitched upon one Hudelston, a Scotchman, who was the means of preserving Charles in safety after the battle of Worcester.

"The duke of York," continues the ambassador, "to whom I had given notice that all was ready, sent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudelston; soon after he said aloud, "The king wills that every
every

every body should retire, except the earls of Bath and Feverham :” the first was lord of the bed-chamber, and the other was in waiting. The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was immediately shut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudelston in. The duke of York, in presenting him, said, “ Sire, here is a man who saved your life, and is now come to save your soul.” The king answered, “ He is welcome :” he afterwards confessed himself with great sentiments of devotion and repentance. The earl of Castlemethor had taken care to have Hudelston instructed by a Portuguese monk of the barefooted Carmelites, in what he had to say to the king on such an occasion ; for of himself he was no great doctor ; but the duke of York told me he acquitted himself very well in his function, and that he made the king formally promise, to declare himself openly a catholic, if he recovered his health. He then received absolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction ; all this lasted about three quarters of an hour. In the antichamber every one looked at another ; but nobody said any thing but by their eyes, and in whispers : the presence of lord Bath and lord Feverham, who are protestants, has satisfied the bishops a little ; but the queen’s women, and the other priests, saw so much going and coming, that I do not think the secret can be long kept.”

“ After the king of England received the communion, his disorder became a little better ; it is certain he spoke more intelligibly, and had more strength ; we hoped that God was willing to work a miracle, by restoring him ; but the physicians judged his illness was not abated, and that he could not outlive the night. He nevertheless appeared much more easy, and spoke with more feeling and understanding than he had done from ten at night
to

to eight in the morning. He often spoke quite aloud to the duke of York, in terms full of tenderness and friendship: he twice recommended to him the duchess of Portsmouth, and the duke of Richmond: he recommended to him also all his other children: he made no mention of the duke of Monmouth, good: nor bad: he often expressed his confidence in the mercy of God. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was his chaplain, read some prayers, and spoke to him of God. The king shewed, by his head, that he heard him. The bishop was not officious in saying any thing particular to him, or proposing that he should make a profession of his faith; he was apprehensive of a refusal, but feared still more, as I believe, to irritate the duke of York.*

At noon the next day he died.

It will now be necessary to review some of the most important commercial events of this reign, which have not as yet been spoken of.

Early in the reign of Charles II. the acts which prohibited the use of logwood were repealed. Two several acts of parliament had been passed, and two royal proclamations issued, in which it was called "a pernicious material used in dying." The act which encouraged the use of it recites, that it was at length found, that the dyers of England were possessed of the art of fixing the colours made of logwood, or blockwood, so that they are found as lasting and serviceable as the colours made with any other sort of dying wood. In the year 1662, the English, from the American continent, first began to cut down the logwood trees which grew in profuse abundance on the uninhabited coast of the province of Yucatan, and more

* Appendix, p. 34, & seq.

especially

especially in the bay of Campeachy; in the latter of which places they made a settlement for that purpose. This first settlement was near Cape Catoche, next to the Laguna di Terminoes. By the year 1667, this English settlement was considerably increased, and much logwood was carried thence both to New England and Jamaica. When the famous American treaty was concluded between England and Spain in 1670, which had been before spoken of, each nation was confirmed in the possessions and settlements it then held in America. This encouraged many more English to settle with the logwood cutters; it being in a desolate and unplanted country, where the Spaniards had given them no sort of annoyance. Two years after, however, the Spaniards began to molest these settlers, and to represent to the court of England this colony in the bay as an encroachment on the rights of Spain. Soon after, the Spaniards became so uneasy at the settlement, and the practice of cutting and carrying away logwood, that they actually made prize of all English vessels they met in the American seas, which were freighted with it. This conduct produced a warm remonstrance from the earl of Arlington in 1674, to Sir William Godolphin, the English minister at Madrid, but the matter of right was never decided, so that it remained for a considerable time a contested point between the two nations; but our people till very lately remained in possession of the settlement which they had made in the bay.

By an act passed 14th Charles II. cap. 15. for regulating the trade of silk throwing, it appears, that above forty thousand men, women, and children, were employed in that branch of trade.

The protestants in France being cruelly persecuted fled over to England in great numbers, where they

they received protection, and were granted many privileges. By the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, the protestant subjects of Louis XIV. were no longer suffered to enjoy the free and public toleration and exercise of their religious mode of worship, and of their faith, doctrine, and discipline. This intollerent spirit in his *most christian* majesty was productive of great good to almost all the protestant countries of Europe, but more especially to the commerce of Holland and England, whilst it greatly injured France, both in her population and wealth. The people whom Louis thus violently forced out of his kingdom, were, generally throughout all France, the best merchants, manufacturers, and artificers of that kingdom. Some have supposed that a million of men, women, and children, retired from France in the course of a few years. The supposed royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg*, reckoning only those who withdrew immediately on the revocation of the edict, makes them somewhat more than three hundred thousand persons, carrying with them their industry, and their skill in manufactures, to those places of refuge. "Those," says the royal author, "who had most money, retired into England and Holland; but the most industrious part of them settled in Brandenburg, whither they brought all sorts of manufactures which we before wanted, by erecting fabrics of cloth, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, stockings, hats, and also the dying of all sorts of colours. They were in number about twenty thousand at first, but they soon multiplied, and presently made ample returns to their generous benefactor, the elector Frederic-William. Berlin now had goldsmiths, jewellers, watch-makers, and carvers; and such as were settled in the open country planted tobacco, and variety of fruits and pulse. That

That great elector allowed the refugees an annual pension of forty thousand crowns, which they enjoy to this day."

Others make the total number of refugees to be eight hundred thousand. "A part of the suburbs of London," says Voltaire, meaning Spitalfields, "was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk. For other arts, some thousands of them helped to people and increase the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. Others of them carried to England the art of making crystal in perfection, which, for that reason, was about the same time lost in France." According to his computation, only six hundred thousand fled from the persecution of Louis, carrying with them their riches, their industry, and implacable hatred against the king; and wherever they settled they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed those powers already inclined to war. Many causes concurred to damp the spirit of migration to England in these refugees; the English entertained too contemptuous an opinion of foreigners, and even for such as were suffering for the protestant religion. Besides, their monopolizing corporation cities and towns shut them out from a principal part of the kingdom, and the immunities held out to them by Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Prussia, drew the greatest part to one or other of those countries. It is supposed, that fifty thousand settled in England, bringing with them, as has been computed, three millions sterling in money and effects; and becoming a great accession to the nation, insomuch that the parliament, in king William's reign passed many acts for the benefits of aliens, and to enable them to dispose of their effects without restraint.

The yearly expence of maintaining the navy, during the first ten years of Charles the Second's
 Vol. II. R r reign,

reign, is laid down, from authentic vouchers, to be five hundred thousand pounds. But after the conclusion of the second Dutch war, this expence was much reduced, until the year 1678, when a war with France was generally expected. Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, has given us an account of the state of the navy at that time, which was as follows :

ABSTRACT of the NAVY of ENGLAND in 1678.

Ships.		Rates.		Men.
5	—	1	—	3135
4	—	2	—	1555
16	—	3	—	5010
33	—	4	—	6460
12	—	5	—	1400
7	—	6	—	423
6	* —	Fire-ships	—	340
<hr/>				<hr/>
83				18323

The commerce with France, which the king's indiscretion gave rise to and encouraged, was very destructive to the interests of the kingdom ; other branches of foreign trade prospered, particularly the African Company, who may be considered in the zenith of their glory at this time. The East-India Company was in a flourishing state, and the settlements in America and the West-Indian Islands, opened a new and invaluable branch of commerce to England.

France, by its profitable commerce, particularly with England, having acquired great riches in the times immediately preceding this persecution, did not immediately feel the effects of these expulsions ; yet, in process of time, she found her manufactures and inland trade thereby greatly decayed. The English

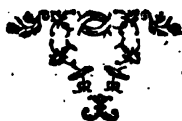
English were enabled to set on foot many manufactures and fabrics, which, till then, had been peculiar to France, these they presently carried to greater perfection than they had before reached. To the French refugees England owes the improvement of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, of silk, linen, paper, glass, hats : the silks, called *alamodes* and *lustrings*, were derived entirely from them ; they were likewise greatly serviceable in manufacturing *brocades*, *sattins*, black and coloured *mantuas*, black *paduasoy*s, *ducap*es, watered *tabbies*, black *velvets* ; also *watches*, *cutlery-ware*, *clocks*, *jacks*, *locks*, *surgeons-instruments*, *hardware*, *toys*, &c.

In the year 1683 king Charles sent lord Dartmouth, with twenty ships of war, utterly to demolish the town, castle, and mole of Tangier, and to choak up its harbour. It appears to have been a place of strength when the Portuguese were in possession of it ; but great sums had been allotted by the parliament for the augmentation of its works, and although notorious abuses were practised in the application of the money, many great improvements were made whilst it remained in the hands of the English. For the security of its haven a superb mole was constructed, the extremities of which are said to have run out six hundred yards into the sea ; but all these improvements were thrown into one promiscuous ruin. The garrison, artillery, and stores were brought to England ; whereby, says Rapin, the king was freed from a considerable annual expence, and the garrison, which was chiefly composed of popish officers and soldiers, served to augment the king's forces at home, thereby keeping in awe those who were impatient of the yoke. The possession of Tangiers would, probably, at this day, have been less an object of jealousy to the

other European powers, than Gibraltar is on the opposite side of the Straits; but whether its harbour and situation on the south shore, where the current is said to run much stronger into the Mediterranean than on the other side, would have, in all respects, equally answered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not presume to determine. The rubbish of the demolished mole, and of the walls of the town, being thrown into the harbour, has so effectually choaked it up, that it is said it can never hereafter be a commodious port. Mr. Burchet relates, that by the king's orders, a considerable number of milled crown pieces, of that reign, was buried among the ruins, which may possibly, many centuries hence, declare to succeeding ages, that the place was once a member of the British empire.

One of the last acts of Charles was the marrying his niece, the lady Anne, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark, who will hereafter make conspicuous figures in this work.

It will be now necessary to say something of those eminent naval commanders, who closed their career of glory in the course of this reign.



Engrav'd for
Hervey's Naval
History.



Sharp

Sculp

GEORGE MONK
DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

Died 3 Jan. 1669-70.

Aged 67.

MEMOIRS of GEORGE MONK, *Duke of*
ALBEMARLE.

THIS eminent statesman and commander was descended from a very ancient family, which, on his father's side, had been settled at Potheridge, in Devonshire, from the time of Henry III. and from the female line he is said to have traced his descent from Edward IV. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a gentleman possessed of a slender fortune, and was born 6th December, 1608. From his earliest childhood he was designed for the profession of arms, but when he was about eighteen years of age he happened to have a dispute with the sheriff of the county of Devon, concerning some treatment which his father, Sir Thomas Monk, had received, in which his resentment led him to inflict a severe drubbing on that executioner of the laws; and to avoid the consequences which such an extrajudicial process would have subjected him to, he went on board the fleet which then lay at Plymouth, and which, shortly after, sailed for Cadiz, under the command of lord Wimbleton. On this expedition he went as a volunteer, Sir Richard Greenville, his near relation, having a command.

When he was twenty-one years of age he went over to Holland, and served, for several years, in the army there, until he obtained the command of a company; but taking a disgust, he threw up his commission, and returned to England.

On his arrival he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel under the earl of Newport, in which capacity he was employed against the Scots, and displayed both judgment and bravery*.

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 18.

In

In 1641 he was in Ireland, where the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, who was his cousin, gave him the command of his own regiment; but in his farther advancement he was opposed by the earl of Ormonde.

On the breaking out of the civil war he sided with the royalists, and was appointed by Charles I. a major-general of the Irish brigade; very soon after which he was surprized, and made prisoner by Fairfax, and confined in the Tower for several years, where, his circumstances being now straight, he suffered great hardships, notwithstanding the occasional assistance he received from his elder brother, and even from the king.

He procured his enlargement in 1647, when the civil war being terminated by the captivity of the king, and the entire ruin of his cause, Monk accepted a commission from the parliament, and went over to Ireland with his relation, the lord L'Isle, who was appointed to the government of that kingdom. Shortly after, the parliament, who knew the value of the man, gave him the command in chief of the English forces in the north, in conjunction with Morrice.

In 1650 he led some troops into Scotland, to bring the Scots to an acquiescence with the republican establishment which had taken place in England. To bind him more firmly to the interest of the new commonwealth, Cromwell caused him to be appointed lieutenant-general of the ordnance. Whilst on this expedition, he is acknowledged to have been the chief means of that decisive victory which was obtained over Charles at Dunbar*, although Cromwell bore away the honour of the day. After that action Monk was very successful in re-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 328.

ducing

ducing Scotland. He took the town of Dundee by storm, and caused Lumsdale, the governor, and the garrison, which consisted of six hundred men, to be put to the sword; an act of severity totally unjustifiable in that case.

When the Dutch war broke out in 1652, on the death of colonel Popham, and at the instance of Blake, who was impatient to wipe off the insult offered to the English navy by the vaunts of Van Tromp, Monk was recalled from his employment in Scotland, to take the command of the fleet jointly with Blake; the little experience he had had of marine war was not considered as a disqualification at that time, when the manner of conducting sea-engagements was much more simple than at present. The first action in which he commanded, was that desperate one in May 1653, which continued for two days, and ended in a glorious victory on the side of the English. Two months after, Monk fought another battle, equally obstinate for two days, and again triumphed over the Dutch. In this action he gave orders that no quarter should be either given or taken; a sanguinary mode of making war! The particulars of these actions have been already related.

When peace was concluded with the Dutch, and Cromwell had assumed the protectorship, Monk had the government of Scotland assigned to him. During his administration there, he was extremely active in crushing the spirit of royalty, and exercised great severity on such of the principal cavaliers as fell into his hands. Whilst he governed that kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, making husbandry and gardening his sole diversions*.

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 70.

Whether

Whether the penetrating eye of Cromwell discovered any duplicity in Monk's conduct, and found that he secretly wished well to the exiled prince, whilst he was thus extirpating his adherents, or that his suspicions were now grown so habitual to him, that no integrity of conduct could guard against them, is not very easy to determine; but the protector, a little before his death, wrote a long letter to general Monk, to which he subjoined the following very singular postscript. "There be that tell me there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

When the news of Cromwell's death arrived in Scotland, Monk caused Richard Cromwell to be proclaimed there.

Hitherto Monk has appeared as a commander, leading armies and fleets to conquest; and as his life had been passed more in the field than the cabinet, he cannot be supposed to have been deeply versed in the mysteries of state, which have led lord Clarendon, as well as bishop Burnet, to describe him as a man of slow parts and slender abilities; but this character of Monk does not appear to be verified in the steps he took to restore Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors, when Richard Cromwell had renounced the protectorship. He it was that first revived the royal cause, then apparently in a most desperate condition. By his spirited and crafty conduct, the views of the different parties which composed the republican government, were foiled and counteracted; and the nation at large began ardently to wish for tranquillity and security, founded on the reestablishment of the constitutional government of king, lords, and commons.

commons. But what places the character of Monk in the fairest point of view, is, his refusing the kingdom, when it was offered to him by the republicans. In rejecting this precious gift, he certainly proved himself both a moderate and a wise man; and by making no conditions with the prince he so essentially served, the value of the service which he rendered was greatly enhanced.

Charles, immediately on his coming to the crown, created Monk a duke, by the title of duke of Albemarle, continued to him the command of the army, made him master of the horse, and a lord of his bedchamber; he likewise settled an annuity of seven thousand pounds a year upon him. When he was called up by writ to the house of lords, he was attended to the door by almost the whole house of commons.

On the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1664, the duke of York commanded the fleet in person; and, upon this occasion, he devolved the whole administration of the admiralty on the duke of Albemarle.

When the plague broke out in London the succeeding year, and the king quitted his capital and retired to Oxford, the duke of Albemarle was appointed to superintend affairs in that calamitous season, during which time he resided at the Cockpit, near Whitehall; and, with the assistance of the earl of Craven, and some other public-spirited persons of distinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city, distributing daily the vast charities that were raised for the supply of the distressed, at the same time that he directed the affairs of the navy, regularly transmitting an account of whatever happened to the king and his ministers at Oxford; which fully proves not only the fortitude of the man, but his capacity for transacting business.

The next year the duke of York quitting the command of the fleet, the king sent for Albemarle to Oxford, to acquaint him with his intentions of making him joint commander of the fleet with prince Rupert. His friends strongly urged him to decline the proffered honour; they represented the advanced period of his life, the reputation which he had already gained as a soldier, as a seaman, and as a statesman; all which he would risque by again taking the command. They represented the Dutch as having gained experience by their defeats, and as driven to desperation by their losses; the enemy which he had to encounter was therefore become formidable, and the loss of a battle would exceedingly tarnish his reputation, whereas a victory gained would add very little to it. But none of these considerations weighed at all with Monk; he told his friends in reply, that "he valued neither his safety nor his fame any farther than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, since he was sure he either should accomplish them, or die in the attempt*." He therefore accepted of the command, and manned his fleet with a surprizing expedition, notwithstanding the ravages which the plague had made among the seamen. He was indeed idolized by the sailors, who entered cheerfully on board his fleet, because "they were sure, they said, that honest George (for so they called the duke) would see them well fed, and justly paid†." The artifice of the French, as has been already shown, succeeded in dividing the grand fleet of England; whilst prince Rupert, deluded by false intelligence, went in quest of the French, Albemarle was left, with a very inferior force, to encounter the Dutch, who bore down upon him. In

* Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 333.

† Memoirs of the Dutch

War, p. 39.

this

this situation he called a council of war, where it was unanimously resolved not to decline a battle. A desperate conflict then ensued, which continued the whole day, and has been circumstantially related; the next morning the duke called a second council of war, in which he delivered his opinion as follows: "If we had dreaded the number of our enemies we should have fled yesterday; but though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel, that though our fleet be divided, our spirit is entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear*."

Thus did this brave man maintain the national character for courage; and though the English fleet suffered greatly in the second day's combat, yet when prince Rupert came in on the third, they fairly reversed the fortune of the Dutch, and forced them to retire to their own coasts.

Although the nation in general blamed the duke for his temerity in fighting when his force was so much inferior, being only fifty ships to seventy-six; yet the king approved his conduct, and the public clamour soon subsided: especially, as in the July following, the duke gained a great and decisive victory, which compelled the Dutch fleet to take shelter in their ports. When winter approached, Albemarle quitted the fleet, and repaired to London,

* Echard's History of England, p. 830.

where, during his absence, that dreadful conflagration had happened which laid the city in ashes. Such was his popularity, that the people exclaimed as he passed along, "if his grace had been here, the city had not been burnt *," which proves the able manner in which he executed his trust during the plague.

Had the duke's advice been followed, the disgrace at Chatham had never happened, but the profuse manner in which Charles rewarded his minions and his mistresses, led him to embezzle the public money which was granted him for the defence and security of the nation. When in consequence of this vile neglect, the Dutch fleet rode triumphant in the river Thames, Albemarle was immediately chosen, as the fittest person to raise the spirits of the people by his presence, and to defeat the enemy's design by his conduct. In this emergency he did every thing which judgment and unruffled valour could suggest, but such a panic had struck the people, and such a want of capacity was visible in those who had the direction of the king's yards, that his orders were very indifferently obeyed. He took, however, many precautions which proved of great use, and had he been well seconded, there is every reason to believe that the Dutch would have reaped very little credit from their attempt. This supposition is supported by the opinion which the parliament expressed soon after; both houses highly approving the duke's conduct; and when he laid before them a narrative of the affair, they had such an implicit confidence in the reality of the facts which his grace stated, that upon the credit of that evidence alone they impeached commissioner Pitt. To which circum-

* Gumble's Life of Monk.

stance Dr. Sith Ward, bishop of Salisbury, who preached a funeral sermon for his grace a few years after, alludes, when speaking of the duke's behaviour in this disastrous affair, he says, "that even where the issue of the whole matter was not very prosperous, God was pleased to order the duke's part so, that he came off with immortal honour and reputation."

On the death of the earl of Southampton, who was at the head of the treasury, the king appointed the duke of Albemarle for his successor. But this mark of royal favour he held a very short time: he was now sixty years of age, and had enjoyed a robust state of health quite to that advanced period, notwithstanding the severe fatigues and hard service in which his life had been spent. All at once his health decayed, which made him desirous of withdrawing from all public business, and of ending his days in a calm privacy. The disorder with which he was afflicted, was a dropsy, and whilst in this enfeebled state of health, the king and the duke of York paid him frequent visits, on which occasions the old duke endeavoured to convince them of the impossibility of supporting the royal authority any other way than by promoting the real interest of the nation*. He died at Newhall, in Essex, on the third of January 1670, in the sixty-third year of his age. He left a great estate, of fifteen thousand pounds a year in land, and sixty thousand pounds in money, which he had amassed by frugality, not by any acts of speculation in the high offices which he had filled. He left one only son, who inherited his title and fortune, and whom the king invested with the order of the garter, which his father had

* *Lives English and foreign*, p. 196.

before

before, worn. This second duke of Albemarle was a very different character from his father. He was disqualified for any kind of public employment; possessed some private virtues and some vices. He died a martyr to his bottle, a very few years after he came into possession of the dukedom, and leaving no issue, the title became extinct.

General Monk was an abstemious and an indefatigable man, he was blunt, but incorruptibly honest. He would never suffer or connive at any species of imposition, and used frequently to say, when he had a command in the army; that his officers should have power to command and protect, but not to pillage or terrify the soldiers*. He maintained strict discipline among the troops, and carried the same conduct into the navy, when he took the command of it in the first Dutch war. There is a remarkable circumstance related of him, which at once shews the austerity of his manners, and the reverence in which he was held. Towards the end of the war, when Cromwell had invested himself with the protectorship, the seamen having been long waiting impatiently, and in vain, for a distribution of their prize-money, at length went in a large body to the navy office, to make a demand of it. Monk was there to receive them, and told them, that there were fifteen hundred ships to be sold, and as soon as that was done, they would be equitably paid. Upon which information they quietly dispersed. However, on discussing the matter among themselves, they again grew dissatisfied, and assembling in the afternoon of the same day, armed, to the amount of four or five thousand men, they proceeded to Whitehall. Monk being apprized of this, in company with Cromwell,

* Gumble's Life of Monk.

and

and some other officers, met them at Charing-cross, where, without much expostulation, he drew his sword, and wounded several of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who had never broke it on any occasion: in this rencounter he is said to have cut off one man's nose, and afterwards to have given him ten pounds as a satisfaction. This opposition so disconcerted the sailors, that forgetting their former fury, they quietly retired, and according to Albemarle's assurance, were afterwards very justly paid *.

Monk's valour was a principle inherent in his nature, which never forsook him in the most alarming circumstances. In one of those dreadful combats which he maintained, when he had the command of the fleet in the second Dutch war, a chain-shot carried away a part of his breeches, yet it neither produced in him the least change of countenance, nor of conduct, but he continued the fight as if nothing had happened. When he conducted the arduous business at Chatham, in order to prevent the Dutch from landing, which he supposed they meant to do, he exposed himself to the thickest of their cannon shot, that his example might inspire others with firmness, and thereby make effectual head against the enemy. A person of distinction, who was near him in this dangerous situation, represented to him, how much it was his duty to take care of his life, and for that reason begged of him to retire. He replied, very coolly, "Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago †."

Nothing shews the moderation and virtues of Monk in a stronger light, than the estimation in which he stood both with the king and the people, in

* *Lives English and foreign*, p. 144. † *Gumble's Life of Monk*.

those

those times when their political schemes were totally repugnant to each other. But though Charles esteemed and honoured him; yet his inflexibility and bluntness but ill accorded with the ductile manners of a court; and his sovereign would probably never have employed a thought about him, after the restoration, if his services had not been wanted; for we have before had occasion to observe, that gratitude was not a quality predominant in the breast of Charles the Second.





PRINCE RUPERT,
Nephew to **CHARLES I.** and Uncle to **GEORGE I.**
for some time. Commander of the English Fleet:
died 1683, aged 64.

MEMOIRS of Prince RUPERT, *Nephew to King CHARLES I. and for some Time Commander in Chief of the English Fleet.*

THIS distinguished general and admiral was the third son of the prince elector Palatine, styled king of Bohemia, by the princess Elizabeth, daughter to king James I. He was therefore brother to the princess Sophia, mother of king George I. and nephew to king Charles I. He was born in the year 1620. Being a younger son he was bred to arms. When he was little more than twenty years of age, he made a voluntary offer of his services to his uncle, the unhappy civil wars having just then broke out. In the numerous actions in which he was engaged, he at all times displayed great intrepidity, and was frequently eminently successful, but in some particular instances he was censured for indiscretion and rashness; so that he quitted his command before the war was at an end, and withdrew out of the kingdom. When the squadron in the Thames revolted to the prince of Wales, he again came forward into action, and soon obtained the command of it; but by the vigilance of Popham and Blake he was driven, with his fleet, from one place of refuge to another, until his force was greatly reduced, as has been already shown in treating of the public transactions of those times. In this distressed situation, with only a few ships remaining, he sailed up the Mediterranean quite to the Adriatic Sea, where he made prize indiscriminately of whatever vessels fell in his way. When he found that Blake had quitted those parts, he put into the port of Toulon, and there sold his pyratrical plunder, the produce of which enabled him to fit out his

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small

small fleet for the West-Indies, having then no more than five men of war and two fire-ships. Whilst in those parts he carried on the like unauthorized war against the Spaniards. At length, having lost his brother prince Maurice, who accompanied him, and the ship which he was on board, and finding his ships very ill-conditioned, he repaired to Europe, and coming on the coast of Bretagne, there disposed of his ships and their prizes, the produce of both which was scarce sufficient to pay the arrears which were due to his seamen.

Upon the restoration, Charles II. invited his cousin prince Rupert to England, notwithstanding a difference had arisen between them at Paris, when the king was in exile. He was hereupon created duke of Cumberland, and earl of Holderness, and appointed to more than one lucrative employment. When the second Dutch war broke out, the duke of York being soon weary of contending with De Ruyter, prince Rupert, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, obtained the command of the grand fleet, and by his fortunate arrival, at the close of a hard-fought day, snatched the victory from the exulting Dutch, and joining the force under Albemarle, obliged them to seek for safety in their own ports. When this prince had fought on land, the impetuous ardour of youth hurried him into unguarded and dangerous situations; but having now arrived at maturer years, his judgment had properly tempered his valour; and in his naval operations he was no less discreet than brave.

The breaking out of the last Dutch war, and the passing of the famous test-act, drew forth this gallant prince from his retirement; and as he had ever declared himself a firm protestant, Monk, Sandwich, and most of the veteran commanders being dead, and the duke of York disqualified by

by his religious principles, the eyes of the nation were directed to him as the leader of the English fleet against the Dutch. It was the exigence of the times that called forth his services, for he both hated and was hated by the cabal ministry, which then composed the executive part of government. Every measure was taken which secret malice could suggest, to counteract the views, and impede the measures of the prince. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and bore no good will to their commander in chief. However, with a fleet very badly supplied with all kinds of necessaries, and not well manned, he gained two victories over the Dutch; the one on the 28th of May, 1672, the other on the 5th of June following: but labouring under such disadvantages, it was impracticable to push his successes with vigour and effect. On his return from his command towards the close of the year, he did not meet with that reception from his sovereign which his eminent services entitled him to expect, this led him to make an appeal to the public, by causing a relation of the campaign to be written under his own eye, in which is the following passage: "In the midst of so many intrigues of opposition here at home, so many delays of his commission, so few powers contained in it, such scanty number of seamen, so little assurance of divers chief commanders, such failure of provisions, such want of ammunition, and all other necessaries, such deceit of naval officers, such non-observance of orders at sea amongst his own English, and so manifest a defection of the French; not to be staggered in his resolution, not to be put out of all patience and prudence in action, not to abate of his affection and zeal for the honour and service of his majesty, the safeguard and interest of religion and the king-

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dom;

dom; in a season when so many popish projectors played a game underboard and above too, will be an everlasting argument of his highness's valour and renown, and must needs be a strong obligation on the king, the parliament, and people of England, who are now left to judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence of God, or one of the most memorable pieces of service ever done at sea, to surmount all those difficulties, and even envy itself, and after all, to bring home the fleet-royal of England, without the loss of one man of war, to her own shore in safety, in despite of all enemies that designed otherwise by sea and land."

In proportion as the interest of the cabal ministry declined, prince Rupert regained the esteem of his cousin Charles. He had left his own country so early, that he had become an entire Englishman; but as he was suspected, in his latter days, of a bias to the country party, he was never cordially cared for at court: the prince therefore led a quiet and retired life at Windsor-Castle, of which he was governor, and employed himself chiefly in the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, and in the practice of mechanic arts, in which he greatly excelled. He invented the art of scraping prints in metzotinto, which has since been brought to great perfection. He died in the month of November 1683, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His disposition was just, beneficent, and courteous, which gained him general esteem. It does not appear that he was ever married; he left behind him a natural daughter.

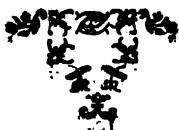
MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN LAWSON, *Rear-Admiral of England.*

THE active part which this commander bore in the naval transactions of his time, entitles him to a place in these memoirs of illustrious seamen. He was a native of Hull, and was early trained to a seafaring life. After having been some years employed in the merchant's service, he passed from that to the royal navy, where he soon distinguished himself; and although destitute of friends or interest, was advanced, on account of his extraordinary merit, to the command of a man of war. As he derived his commission from the parliament, so he served them faithfully; and before the conclusion of the first Dutch war, he carried an admiral's flag under general Monk. His religious persuasion was that of an anabaptist, and his political sentiments inclined him to a republican form of government. When Cromwell assumed the protectorship, Lawson was continued in his command, but his fidelity and attachment were not free from imputations. When Monk had schemed the reestablishment of the ancient constitution, Lawson's concurrence was found necessary, in order to secure the fleet; accordingly, he was one of the first to whom these measures were imparted, and he did not hesitate to embrace them. Either he had changed his political opinions from conviction, or from the more general motive of expediency. Dr. Campbell says, that Lawson was disgusted with Cromwell for entering into the war with Spain, as he looked upon it to be a flagrant act of injustice and tyranny*.

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. II. p. 423.

The services which Lawson rendered the king with the fleet, gained him some particular marks of respect from Charles, who conferred on him the honour of knighthood ; and the admiral, to the end of his life, conducted himself with great honour and spirit, and was never, for any length of time, out of actual service.

In April 1665 the duke of York sailed with a grand fleet to the coast of Holland, himself carrying the red flag, prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue : his royal highness's vice and rear-admirals were Penn and Lawson, who both acquitted themselves with great honour. A sharp action happened off Leostoff, on the 3d of June, at the conclusion of which a musket-shot wounded Lawson in the knee, and deprived him of the satisfaction of enjoying that victory which he had eminently contributed to obtain. He survived this hurt only a few days, and closed a life of glory by a death truly honourable.



MEMOIRS of Sir GEORGE AYSCUE.

WE shall close this catalogue of naval heroes with some account of Sir George Ayscue, a man of distinguished character in the age in which he lived. He was an officer of considerable standing when the parliament assumed the administration; and that body courted his favour with such success, that he adhered steadily to the republic, on the defection of a considerable part of the fleet in 1648. He then commanded the *Lion*; and brought his ship into the river Thames, and declared for the parliament. Such an essential service was rewarded with the command of a squadron of men of war, which was ordered to the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the revolted fleet. In March 1649, he was constituted admiral of the Irish seas, in which station he rendered essential service to both countries.

In the year 1651, Blake and Ayscue were sent against the Scilly Isles, which Sir John Grenville still held for the king. When the two admirals appeared before the Island of St. Mary, which is the principal of that cluster, the governor, who was master of a very considerable force, to prevent the slaughter which must have happened on both sides in case of an attack, proposed to treat, and very honourable conditions of surrender were allowed to him and his garrison. These the parliament much disliked, and even signified a disinclination to ratify. Sir George Ayscue was then on his voyage to the West Indies, but Blake being in England, gave the reasons which induced him and his colleague to grant these terms to the royalists, and which were founded both in prudence and humanity.

manity; and concluded with hinting, that if the parliament disapproved of his conduct, he would take care not to displease them again, by retiring from the service; and he did not doubt but Sir George Ayscue would do the same. This menace silenced all complaints, and the capitulation was confirmed.

Our admiral appeared before Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651. The governor of that island was lord Willoughby of Parham, who for some time defended the place, but at length commissioners were named on both sides to adjust the conditions of surrender. The terms agreed upon were, that the islands of Barbadoes, Nevis, and St. Christophers, should be surrendered to the parliament of England, with ample immunities to the inhabitants, whilst they adhered to the commonwealth. The surrender of these islands brought the colony of Virginia to yield obedience to the commonwealth. Sir George Ayscue having thus fully accomplished the object of his expedition, returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652.

The first Dutch war having then broke out, Sir George had no respite from hard service; for no sooner was he returned to England, than, with his foul ships, he put to sea, to intercept the Dutch merchantmen in the Channel; and therein he was very successful. The attack which the Dutch made upon him on the 16th of August, has been already related, and the warm reception which he gave them*. But notwithstanding Sir George had rendered such essential service to his country, and had acquitted himself with so much reputation in the unequal conflict which he maintained with the Dutch; although he was venerated by the navy, and highly esteemed by the nation, yet the parlia-

* See Vol. II. p. 150.

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ment, from motives that have never been fully ascertained, thought fit to lay him aside; but this they did in the most honourable manner, by voting him 300*l.* a year in Ireland, and a sum of money.

The admiral being now disengaged from all active employments, passed over into Ireland. Whilst there he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell, who was lord lieutenant of that kingdom, and who had so high an esteem for him, that he wrote expressly to secretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a matter of consequence then in agitation, which letter is preserved in Thurloe's state-papers*.

In 1656, Whitlock, the memorialist, and the Swedish ambassador, paid a visit to this secluded commander, at his seat in Surry, where, as his phrase was, "he had cast anchor, and intended to ride out the rest of his life." This visit, however, drew him from his retreat, and Sir George undertook to take the command of the Swedish fleet, taking with him ten or twelve English captains who were to take the command of as many Swedish men of war.

He continued in Sweden four years, and returned to England about the time of the restoration; and notwithstanding his former political attachments, he was received with great marks of respect by Charles the Second. When the Dutch war broke out in 1664, Sir George went out with the fleet as rear admiral of the blue squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665. When the duke of York quitted the command, and was succeeded by the earl of Sandwich, Sir George Ayscue served as vice admiral of the red, and was very successful in making

* Vol. IV. p. 198.

prizes *. In 1666, when prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, were commanders in chief, Sir George Ayscue, in the *Princes Royal* of one hundred guns, the largest and heaviest ship in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that Squadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice admiral, and Sir John Harman for his rear admiral. In the famous battle on the 1st of June that year, he did remarkable service, not only against the enemy, but in the preservation of such of the English ships as were disabled by their superior force. With the same successful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince Rupert appeared with his detachment of the fleet, Sir George Ayscue's ship unfortunately struck on the Galloper Sands, and could receive no assistance from his friends, neither could it be got off. He could not even reap the consolation of perishing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing five ships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation, surrendered themselves prisoners †, upon which the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impossible to bring off the *Royal Prince*, set her on fire. This capture of an English admiral gave the Dutch great satisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at last shut him up in the Castle of Louvestein, where he continued for some months. On the peace of Breda he returned home, and went no more to sea; at what time, and at what age he died, is not known.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 398.

† *Columna Reſtrata*, p. 172.

C H A P. V,

The Reign of King James II.—Temper of the Nation at his Accession—First Steps of his Reign—Monmouth's Invasion—His Defeat and Execution—Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffries—James alarms his Parliament—Encampment on Hounslow-heath—Roman Catholics brought into Offices—Breach between the King and the Church—Embassy to Rome—Imprisonment, Trial, and Acquittal of the Bishops—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Conduct of the Prince of Orange—Is applied to by the English—Offers made by Louis to James—The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay—Defection of the Army from the King—Prince George of Denmark, with his Consort the Princess Ann, withdraw from the King—James flies—Apprehension of an Irish Massacre—The King seized at Feversham—He retires to Rochester, and from thence to France—Commons pass the Vote of Abdication—Declaration of Rights—Settlement of the Crown to King William and Queen Mary.

NO prince ever mounted the throne of England, whose first measures of government engrossed more the public attention than those of James the Second. The influence which he was supposed to have had over the conduct of the late king; his continual habit of business, partly the effect of his temper, but more of his situation; the animosity of parties concerning him; and the various turns of his fortune, had placed him, during many years of his brother's reign, in a more con-

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spicuous point of view than even the sovereign himself. The exclusionists now expected little mercy from a king, to whom they had shewn none when he was a subject. The dissenters had felt the severity of councils which were imputed to him; even some of the Tories watched, with anxious minds, his first steps in civil, and still more of them, his first steps in religious concerns*.

On the first Sunday after his accession the king went publicly to mass, attended with all the ensigns of royalty. Many were offended at this public spectacle of the king's religion, who had long heard, with indifference, of his principles. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the door of the chapel: the king passing him, said, "My lord, your father would have gone farther." The duke answered, "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far."

James had been a bigot to the Romish church from his early years, and he espoused her cause with the most extravagant zeal: had he been a mahometan, or had he followed the doctrine of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign; but he designed to establish in his kingdoms the Roman catholic religion, than which nothing could be more detestable in the eyes of the English, who accounted it the religion of slaves†.

The people of England were now entirely changed from what they had been in the times of Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth, who had altered religion at will. Learning was now as much cultivated by the laity as by the priesthood; every man now pretended to think for himself, and had rational grounds for his opinion. In the beginning of the reformation the monarchs had only to bring over the clergy,

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 106. † Voltaire.

in order totally to change the modes of belief, for the people were entirely guided by their pastors. To influence the priesthood was an easy task. The hopes of preferment, or the fears of degradation, entirely subjected the consciences of the clergy to the royal will. Such it was then ; but the circumstances of the nation were, at present, entirely altered ; and, to make a change in religion, it would have been necessary to tamper with every individual in the state. But James had no idea of the alteration of circumstances ; his situation, he thought, supplied him with authority, and his zeal furnished him with hope of accomplishing this chimerical design.

Recent events in Europe had given James instances of princes assuming a despotic rule over their people. Those of Sweden and Denmark had lately become absolute monarchs. In short, England and Poland were the only remaining kingdoms, where the liberty of the people and monarchy subsisted together.

James had only possessed the crown a few months, when the duke of Monmouth, who had been ordered to quit England during the last reign, and had retired to Holland, arrived in Dorsetshire with a few followers, and presuming on the popularity which he possessed, openly laid claim to the crown. This desperate step he was driven to take, more from the severity with which the king pursued him in his exile, than from the natural turbulence of his disposition. The earl of Argyle seconded his views, and they formed the scheme of stirring up insurrections at the same time in the two extremities of the kingdoms. Argyle first landed in Scotland, published a manifesto, and got together an army of two thousand five hundred men ; but a considerable body of troops coming against him, he

he was soon defeated, taken prisoner, and carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

Among the adherents to the duke of Argyle was one Ayloff, who being taken prisoner, stabbed himself, in order to escape punishment; but having recovered, he was brought up from Scotland into the king's presence, in hopes that discoveries might be drawn from him. James pressed him to a confession, saying, "You know, Mr. Ayloff, it is in my power to give you a pardon; therefore say that which may deserve it." To which Ayloff replied, "Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon."

Meanwhile the duke of Monmouth sailed from the Texel with three vessels, and arrived on the coasts of Dorsetshire with about fourscore followers. The country soon flocked in to his standard, and in two days his army was increased to two thousand men. The earl of Feversham was sent to oppose him, and took post at Sedgemore, a village in Somersetshire. Monmouth resolved to fight him, and began his march about eleven in the night, with profound silence; but the royalists were prepared for his reception. The action began at day-break; lord Grey, who commanded the duke of Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The duke, at the head of his infantry, bravely maintained his ground, until he was charged in flank by the enemy's horse, who had been just now victorious. A total rout ensued; three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. The duke escaped the carnage, and, in a shepherd's disguise, fled on foot, attended by a faithful companion, who had followed his fortunes into England. Thus they travelled onward towards Dorset-

Dorsetshire, till, quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themselves with stubble. In this forlorn situation he was found, with some peas in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. His spirit sunk with his misfortunes; he wrote to the king; implored his mercy; the king gave him an audience, as if willing to satisfy his vengeance with the sight of a rival's misery. But his death was determined, and no entreaties could extort royal clemency. His behaviour on the scaffold was manly and composed. The fondness of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: they believed that one of his friends who resembled him, had consented to lose his life in public to save that of the duke. They started at every rumour of his name; and long expected, with impatience, when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause, and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by the king's order, attended the execution. When he afterwards gave an account of it to James, he said, "Your majesty has got rid of one enemy, but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sunk deep into his mind*.

It would have been happy for the nation, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was already shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle of Sedgemoor. Their inhumanity was properly seconded by Jefferies, who was sent on the western circuit to try the insurgents. His furious thirst of blood being inflamed by continual

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 129.

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intoxication, he threatened, calumniated, and threw aside even the appearance of clemency. Men and women indiscriminately felt the effects of his savage zeal; and not less than two hundred and fifty persons expired under circumstances of wanton cruelty. Cruel kings ever find cruel ministers*.

Lord Feversham, after Monmouth's defeat, hung up, without any trial, twenty prisoners, and Colonel Kirk nineteen. The latter with a savage refinement made a sport of the murders he committed. Having a gallows erected at his door, it was his practice, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drank to the health of the king, or the queen, or judge Jefferies. When he saw the feet of the dying shake, in the last agonies of departing life, he would say, "They should have music to their dancing," and ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarters in the country, without distinction, between the innocent and the guilty; and those instruments of his violence he named in derision, "His lambs." These proceedings were in the eye of the law, robberies and murders; yet in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them†.

Lord chief justice Jefferies tried the prisoners on the western circuit. A man, cruel in his temper, brutal in his manners, and a contemner of all decency. A power was given him in his commission to command the forces of the west, so that the terrors both of the law and of the sword were united in his person. In his charge to the grand jury at Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he directed them to enquire after, "not only all

* Goldsmith.

† Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 137.

principals, but all aiders and abettors of those who had been concerned in the rebellion;" a charge, which moulded the jurymen to his will, by the consideration of their personal safety, because there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends and relations in distress. He pressed the prisoners to confess, "to save himself trouble," as he expressed it. And some of those who maintained their innocence against all his menaces, and were afterwards found guilty, he ordered for execution the same day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail on the prisoners to confess by promises of pardon: when the prisoners adhered in court to their confession they were condemned to be hanged: when they retracted, these officers were evidences at hand to prove their confession. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jefferies declared with a jest, "that if any lawyer or parson came in his way, they should not escape him." One of the prisoners objected to a witness, Jefferies interrupted him with these words: "Villain, rebel, methinks I see thee already with a halter round thy neck." The evidence against another being doubtful, the justice of peace, who had given information against him, remarked it to Jefferies, and interceded in his behalf. Jefferies answered, "You have brought him on, if he be innocent his blood be upon you." When the sisters of this unhappy man hung on the wheel of the judge's coach to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip*. Two women were condemned to be burnt alive, for indulging the sweetest of human virtues, compassion for the distressed; one of these was lady Lisle, who was upwards of seventy

* Granger's Biographical History, Vol. II. p. 543.

years of age. She had given refuge to Hicks, a dissenting clergyman who had begged the protection of her house, and trusted his life in her hands. She was widow to lord Lisle, one of the regicides, who on that account had been assassinated in Switzerland. She was taken by colonel Penruddock whose father had been adjudged to death by lord Lisle, for his attachment to the royal cause. The deportment of this lady at her trial was spirited and highly pathetic. She delivered herself to the court in the following manner. "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The person whom I received under my roof, was convicted by no sentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him? My own principles have ever been loyal, none in England shed more tears for the death of the king's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to serve the present king: but although I could not fight for him, my son did, against the duke of Monmouth. I sent the son to atone for the offences of the father: it was I who bred him up to fight for his sovereign: with my last breath I will bless that life which takes away mine." Such forcible reasoning had no weight where humanity and justice were excluded; Jefferies in his charge to the jury, admired the justice of God which had made Penruddock the instrument of shedding blood for blood. The jury notwithstanding, returned into court with doubts, because there was no proof of her knowing that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jefferies told them, that her receiving him, after she suspected it, was equivalent; and when they found her guilty, he said, "If she had been my mother, I would have found the same verdict against her*." Two Tory

* State Trials, Vol. III. p. 513.

peeresses applied to the king for her pardon, declaring that she had done favours to their party in their greatest extremities; but Jefferies, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promise from James not to pardon her, by assuring him that all her pretensions to loyalty were false: the only favour she could obtain was, the change of her sentence from burning to beheading. These severities of Jefferies, frightful even to those to whom he committed their execution, were imputed at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone, but other causes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign. It was then made appear, that he had exacted the sum of fifteen thousand pounds for his own use, from a Devonshire gentleman, named Prideaux, for not bringing him to a trial*.

The people might have been willing on this occasion to distinguish between the king and his ministers of vengeance, had not the clearest marks of his sovereign's good pleasure rewarded the perpetrator of these cruelties. Jefferies on his return, was for these eminent services created a peer; and soon after was appointed to the dignity of chancellor. These rigours of the western circuit raised more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation naturally brave and therefore generous. At length the king found they had rendered him so unpopular that it became absolutely necessary to disavow them; but such as bore no good-will to this prince asserted, that he was accustomed to repeat the cruelties of Kirk and Jefferies with jocularity, to his courtiers in the circle; and that in the same strain he called this circuit Jefferies's campaign†." But whether this charge is true or false, thus much is certain,

* Journals of the House of Commons, Nov. 30, 1689.
net's own Times.

† Bur-
that

that the severity of James's temper gave a colourable appearance to this imputation; like another Philip II. his remorseless heart urged him on to wade, without any emotion, through streams of blood, to establish the infernal triumph of civil and religious despotism.

As if these proceedings were not sufficient to shake the tyrant off his throne, James, when he met his parliament the November following, delivered himself in the most arbitrary and dictatorial manner. He expressed his resolution of retaining popish officers in the army in open defiance of the test-acts. This speech awakened both houses to a sense of their danger. Many were then alive who had seen the subjection under which Cromwell had kept the nation by means of a standing army, and the idea of slavery was ever annexed to that of popery. In an instant therefore, that house of commons which had hitherto appeared to have no will but the will of its sovereign, became animated with a spirit resembling that of its predecessors in the three late parliaments. In their address to the king, in consequence of his speech, the commons expressed in very respectful terms the opinion they entertained, that the king did not possess any right of dispensing with the established laws of the realm, rendered valid by the sanction of the three constituent parts of the legislature.

When the parliaments of England and Scotland were prorogued, James encamped twelve thousand men on Hounslow Heath, hoping that his soldiers would effectually co-operate with his designs, and enable him to reign over a nation of slaves. Most of those who refused their assent to the repeal of the tests, among whom were many of the highest rank, and of the king's firmest friends, were removed from the civil or military offices which they held,

held, and Roman Catholics, with dispensations, generally put into their places. Several professed papists were appointed judges, and others brought to the council board. They were likewise introduced into all the inferior departments of government. They were made sheriffs, justices of the peace, magistrates of corporations, and lieutenants of counties.

The clergy of the church of England finding that the religion of the church of Rome had engrossed the heart of the king, commenced an opposition to court measures, and popery was now acknowledged the more immediate danger. In order to prevent inflammatory sermons on this popular subject, James revived some directions to preachers, which had been promulgated by the late king in the beginning of his reign, when no design against the national religion was yet formed, or at least apprehended. But in the present delicate and interesting situation of the church, there was little reason to expect that orders, founded on no legal authority, would be scrupulously obeyed by preachers, who saw no security to themselves, but in preserving the confidence and regard of the people. Instead of avoiding controversy, according to the king's injunctions, the preachers every where declaimed against popery.

This weak and deluded monarch, not content with effecting his purposes by slow and gradual advances, aimed at crushing the national spirit, and making the will of the sovereign the sole arbiter of right and wrong at a stroke. Full of these weak conceits, he sent a splendid embassy to Rome, to acknowledge his obedience to the pope. Innocent, who then filled the chair, was too good a politician to approve those childish measures, and gave his ambassador a very cool reception. He was sensible that

that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions, which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, *that the king should be excommunicated for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England* *. The king's zeal hurried him to the greatest meanesses; he even stooped so low as to attempt to make converts of his officers: a rough foldier one day answered his remonstrances, by saying, that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was in garrison at Tangiers, that should he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

An ecclesiastical court was erected †, with power to punish all delinquents, or such so reputed by the court, with all manner of ecclesiastical censures. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge was summoned before this court for having refused to admit one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts; the vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, but the university persisted in their refusal, and the king thought proper to desist from this purpose. The vice-president and fellows of Magdalen college in Oxford were treated with more severity. They refused to admit one Farmer, a new convert, and one of a profligate life, who was nominated by the king to the place of president, now become vacant. The king next nominated Parker, bishop of Oxford; but he was equally obnoxious for the same reasons. The king repaired in person to Oxford; he reproached the fellows with insolence and disobedience; but neither he, nor his ministers, could prevail to alter the resolutions of this society,

* Voltaire.

† Ann. Dom. 1686.

The fellows were expelled by his order, and their places filled with papists, who he knew would be more obedient to his commands.

His designs hitherto were sufficiently manifest; but he was now resolved entirely to throw off the mask. By his permission the pope's nuncio made his public entry into Windsor in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks in the habit of their respective orders. He next published a declaration for liberty of conscience, by which all restraints upon popery were taken away. The church of England took the alarm; the peculiar animosity of the people against the catholic religion proceeded not less from religious than temporal motives. It is the spirit of that religion to favour arbitrary power, and its reproach to encourage persecution. The English had too often smarted under both, to be willing again to submit to either. Seven bishops, who had received the king's express orders to cause this declaration of liberty of conscience to be read in their churches, refused to comply*. They drew up a modest petition to excuse their refusal, which only served to increase the king's resentment and rage. They were cited before the council, and still adhered to their former resolution, with that firmness which is the characteristic of virtue. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for publishing sedition, and abridging the king's prerogative. They were committed prisoners to the Tower, conducted thither amidst the prayers and condolence of an incredible multitude of the populace, who regarded them as sufferers for truth. The day appointed for their trial arrived; this cause was looked upon as the crisis of Eng-

* An. Dom. 1637.

lish freedom; the council managed the debate on both sides with learning and candour; the jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night, but next morning returned into court, and declared the bishops not guilty. The verdict was received with a loud and general shout in the court, which was answered by one as general from the multitude that surrounded the court; the intelligence instantly spread, and a thousand shouts, from different parts of the town, reverberated the universal joy of the people. These acclamations were continued from village to village, until they reached the army encamped on Hounslow-heath, which was seized with the same sympathetic transport. The king was, at that instant, in lord Feverham's tent, and hearing the camp in an uproar, sent his lordship to enquire into the cause. Feverham returned, and reported, "It was nothing but the joy of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Nothing!" said the king, "do you call that nothing! But so much the worse for them." Immediately he set off for London, and issued a proclamation, forbidding the populace from assembling in the streets. The restraint increased their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. Some persons were tried for disorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them, though often sent back by the judges to re-consider their verdicts*.

As not only the king and queen, but all the zealous catholics, both at home and abroad, were extremely desirous of the queen having a male heir to the crown, because in default of that, on James's death, the succession must devolve to the prince and princess of Orange, two zealous Protestants, who

* Reresby's Memoirs, p. 265.

would

would soon replace every thing on the ancient foundations; vows had been offered at every shrine for a male successor; pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the duchess of Modena. At length the queen was delivered of a son, on the 10th of June, 1688, a few days before the acquittal of the bishops; but, in proportion as this event was agreeable to the catholics, it encreased the disgust of the protestants, by depriving them of that pleasing prospect, with which they had flattered themselves. It was even thought, that the king and queen, despairing of having issue, had imposed a supposititious child upon the nation, and it was almost unanimously believed, that James's bigotry rendered him capable of any crime, to obtain a popish successor.

The prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct, agreeably to that sound understanding with which he was so eminently endowed. He made it a maxim to concern himself little with English affairs, and never, by any measure, to disgust any of the parties in England, or give umbrage to the prince who filled the throne. His natural inclination, as well as interest, led him to employ himself with assiduous industry in the transactions on the Continent, and to oppose the grandeur of the French monarch, against whom he had long, both from personal and political considerations, conceived a violent animosity. By this conduct he recommended himself to the whole English nation; but as he crossed the inclinations of Charles, who sought peace by compliance with France, he had much declined in the favour and affections of that monarch.

When James succeeded to the throne, he found it so much his interest to live on good terms with

the heir-apparent, that he showed the prince some demonstrations of friendship; and the prince, on his part, was not wanting in every instance of duty and regard towards the king. On Monmouth's invasion, he immediately dispatched over six regiments of British troops, which were in the Dutch service; and he offered to take the command of the king's forces against the rebels. How little soever he might approve of James's administration, he always kept a total silence on the subject, and gave no countenance to those discontents which were so justly propagated through the nation *.

It was from the application of James himself, that the prince first openly took any part in English affairs. Notwithstanding the lofty ideas the king had formed of his prerogative, he found that the edicts promulgated by it still wanted much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might, in the issue, become dangerous, both to himself, and to the catholics whom he desired to favour. An act of parliament alone could ensure that toleration which he earnestly wished to grant, and he flattered himself, that if the prince would declare in favour of such a measure, the members who had hitherto resisted all his own applications, would, at last, be prevailed with to adopt it. The consent therefore of the prince to the repeal of the penal statutes, and of the test, was strongly solicited by the king, and in order to engage him to agree to that measure, hopes were given that England would second him in all those enterprizes which his active and extensive genius had planned on the Continent. The prince of Orange was, at this time, the centre of all the negotiations of Christendom. He was too good a politician to be deluded by such a bait,

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 514.

he would therefore go no farther than to promise his consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the non-conformists, as well as catholics, were exposed to punishment ; the test he deemed a security absolutely necessary for the established religion.

The English nation was, at this time, very well disposed to connect its interests with those of Holland. The sudden revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. had revived the remembrance of those ties which, a century before, had united and supported the civil and religious interests of the two states. The English too were naturally led to compare the conduct of the French king, in this instance, with the succeeding steps taken by James : they imputed both to a regular concerted plan between the two monarchs, to extirpate the protestant religion from Europe ; and James, during the last two years, had managed his negotiations with France in such a manner, as confirmed all these suspicions. Notwithstanding treaties then subsisted between England and France, which provided for the security of English subjects residing in the latter kingdom, yet no sooner was religious toleration withdrawn, than dragoons were quartered upon the English merchants to force them to change their religion, and they were not permitted to leave the kingdom. When Sir William Trumball, the English ambassador at France, remonstrated on this head, the French court issued orders, that such of the English as were not naturalized, should be free from all molestation ; but such restrictions accompanied this indulgence, as effectually destroyed its efficacy ; for the wives and children of such as had married French women were considered as naturalized subjects, seized upon, and sent either to prisons or to convents. Arts were used to deprive the few that were intitled to the benefit of this order, of all

advantage from it. They would not permit the English protestants who died in France to be buried; and the corps of a woman, who had been privately interred, was taken from the grave, and dragged naked through the streets. The English traders to Hudson's Bay, the West-Indies, and Africa, were injured and insulted. The people of New-England were not permitted to trade, or fish, to the northward; and when their ships were driven, by stress of weather, or through want of necessaries, to cast anchor in the French roads, they were seized and confiscated. The French laid such heavy duties upon the importation of the English cotton manufactures, as amounted to a prohibition. Sir William Trumbell presented spirited memorials upon these injuries; the French complained of the terms in which these complaints were couched, and the ambassador was reprimanded by his sovereign. Provoked at the tameness of the English, and the *bauteurs* of the French court, Sir William resigned his embassy, and no satisfaction was obtained for the nation.

Most of the English which the prince of Orange had conversed with, in the last or the present reign, being dissatisfied themselves, endeavoured to infuse the same spirit into him. The natural jealousies between a prince in possession and his presumptive successor; the opposition of interest and religion, had dissolved, at length, all ties between the father and son-in-law, except those which decorum imposed. The pregnancy of the queen, and the birth of the prince of Wales, made the prospect of the princess Mary's succession to the crown very distant and uncertain, and therefore threatened nothing short of an open rupture. And thus an event, which the king had so long made an object of his most ardent prayers, and from which he expected the

the firm establishment of his throne, proved an immediate cause of his ruin and downfall. James, on the other hand, was extremely disgusted at the opposition shewn to his favourite plan of indulgence to the catholics, and took every occasion to express his displeasure, as well against the prince of Orange as the United Provinces. He gave the Algèrines pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his harbours, and liberty to dispose of their prizes. He revived some complaints of the English East-India Company, with regard to a settlement in the east; he recalled the British troops which were employed in the Dutch service, and put his navy in a formidable condition. The Dutch concluded, from these hostile proceedings, that James sought only an occasion and pretence for making war upon them.

William hereupon resolved to be less attentive to appearances, and assiduously to cultivate the affection of the English protestants in general, and to unite them against the catholics. With these views he sent over Dykvelt as his envoy to England, with instructions, besides publicly remonstrating on the conduct of affairs both at home and abroad, to apply, in his name, to every sect and denomination. This commission Dykvelt executed with so much address, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which their religion and liberty were so eminently threatened.

While other great revolutions of state have been the consequence of long intrigue, or the effects of instant revenge, the favour which the enterprize of the prince of Orange found in England, sprung from the impulse of reason and liberty; an impulse which affected almost the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to its success. Admiral Herbert, though a man of great
 expense,

expence, and seemingly of little religion, threw up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of the disaffection of the seamen, by whom that admiral was extremely beloved. Admiral Russel too, cousin-german to the unfortunate lord of that name, prompted by revenge, contributed to spread discontents among the English seamen, and thus removed from the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Russel, at this important crisis, submitted to the duties of a messenger, sailing often between England and Holland, to preserve the communication between the parties of both countries. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, under pretence of drinking the waters of Spa, passed over to Holland, and conveyed the strongest assurances of an universal combination against the measures of the king. The Whigs, in conformity to their ancient principles of liberty, which had led them to attempt the exclusion-bill, easily agreed to oppose a king, whose conduct had justified whatever his worst enemies had prognosticated concerning his succession. The Tories, and the church-party, finding their past services forgotten, their rights invaded, their religion threatened, agreed to drop, for the present, all overstrained doctrines of submission, and attend to the great and powerful dictates of nature; thereby showing that they did not maintain the absolute unlawfulness of subjects resisting their sovereign, only they differed from others about the degree of provocation which justified resistance. Thus all party-animosity was, for a time, laid asleep in England, and every one secretly joined in a scheme of resisting their unhappy and misguided sovereign. The duke of Grafton, at this critical time, was of the most essential service to the prince of Orange. He had asked of the king the command of the fleet in place of

of lord Dartmouth, but James had refused his request; either irritated by this refusal, or inflamed by the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promise from two-thirds of the captains, that they would not oppose the prince of Orange*. It was concerted, that as soon as the prince landed in England, his friends should disperse into the several counties, to raise insurrections, and distract the common enemy. All these persons kept the secret firm to each other.

William yielded to these earnest and respectable applications from England, and undertook the defence of a nation which looked up to him as their only deliverer. The ties of affinity, which are ever weakest in those of exalted rank, had, in this instance, many additional considerations to abate their force; the alliance was, at first, contracted against the approbation of the princess's father, and the most incongruous dissimilitude of temper, manners, sentiments, principles, and pursuits, had contributed, for several years, to estrange these kindred princes from each other; besides, the merit of delivering a great nation from the yoke of a tyrant, was sufficient to wipe off any reproach which might be cast upon the prince of Orange, for having violated a decorum of private life; and was sufficient, in the eyes of reasonable men, to make ample compensation. This prince, born to be the scourge of tyrants, and the illustrious dispenser of liberty to mankind, had already rescued his native country from the ruin which awaited it: he was equally successful in establishing constitutional liberty in the British isles; and employed the latter years of his life, in supporting the general independency of Europe. He may therefore be said to have contri-

* Dalrymple, Vol. I. p. 196.

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buted more to the general interests of society and mankind, perhaps than any other person which history furnishes an account of.

This able statesman was as swift to execute as he was slow to resolve. When he had determined on an expedition into England, he began his preparations very early in the year 1688, designing to embark the ensuing winter, as in that season France would not be able to attack Holland, whilst the stadtholder was absent. The first six months were spent in procuring money, providing armaments at home, and forming alliances with neighbouring states, for the security of the Dutch frontiers. These steps indicated nothing more than providing for the security of the United States. With great secrecy and address he applied large sums of money, which had been raised for other purposes, and which the great influx of specie occasioned by the resort of the French refugees to Holland had contributed to increase, to the use of this expedition. But the finest stroke of the prince's policy was his art in deducing the pope, Innocent XI. for taking advantage of that pontiff's animosity against France; he persuaded him into a belief, that the emperor meant to send a large army to the Rhine, which was to be joined by one equally great from Holland; and that the prince of Orange himself was to penetrate, at the head of this confederated force, into France. For the fartherance of this design, the pope remitted considerable sums to the emperor, which thus obtained, from the head of the Roman catholic world, were employed in dethroning a Roman catholic king*.

He prevailed on the states to equip forty ships of war against the Algerines, and secretly added twelve.

* Dalrymple, Vol. I. p. 198.

to them by his own authority. Some time before he had made a more important attempt, by a demand on the king of England to send twenty English ships of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the same service, by virtue of an old treaty which then subsisted between the two states; but this requisition James did not think fit to comply with. The ships were no sooner made ready for sea in the ports of Holland, than they were sent out to different stations remote from England, with orders to remain there for some time, and then to return. A stratagem which concealed equally the greatness of the armament, and its destination. Under colour of protecting the electorate of Cologne, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the sea in a few days. Whilst he pretended to adjust the confederacy against France, the prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards duke of Portland, conferred personally with the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the princes of the house of Lunenburgh, other German princes, and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans should replace, with their own troops upon the Rhine, those which the prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spanish forces should protect the Dutch frontier on the side of the Netherlands, and garrison their towns. Seven thousand Swedes were hired to be transported into Holland. During these transactions the elector of Brandenburg died, but with his last breath recommended the projected undertaking to his son *. Bentinck was sent to sound the new elector, and found him more attached to the cause than even his father had been. The design was in-

* Memoirs of Brandenburg, by the present king of Prussia.

trusted only to those personages, or their ministers, and to five Dutchmen *. All these kept the secret as profoundly as the English malecontents had done, who saw their ruin in a discovery. The king of England believed the preparations in Holland were intended against France: the king of France sometimes thought they were destined to act against Denmark, and at other times against the liberties of the prince's own country. As the autumn advanced, these warlike preparations became more rapid and more open; yet, even during this period, every art was contrived to mislead and perplex observers. Vessels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and by private merchants; these were continually shifting their stations. Arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and sent up towards Nimeguen. Some of those boats landed their contents and returned; these cargoes were secretly brought back in vessels which had been sent up empty under other pretences; others deposited their freight among the islands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maese; and others were conveyed down to the sea by various routes.

All the prince's artifices could not however entirely conceal his designs from the French court; for Louis suspecting them, sent intelligence to James, and, at the same time, offered to join the English fleet with a squadron of French ships, and to send over any number of troops James should think necessary for his security. But the king, not sensible of his own danger, rejected all his proposals. Fully persuaded of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made a deep impression on his subjects; and, notwithstanding the

* D'Arvieux. Burnet,

strong symptoms of discontent which every where broke out, rebellion appeared incredible. Yet experience ought to have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For, the year before, admiral Strickland, who was a papist, having directed the priests to say mass on board his ship, the seamen rose in a mutiny, and insisted on throwing the priests overboard. Strickland proceeded to severity: the severity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ship to ship. The king was obliged to repair to Portsmouth to pacify the seamen. He, in vain, called them his children and old friends, for it was impossible to satisfy them till the priests were removed from all the ships. The king now found the disposition of the army not more favourable to him: he resolved to augment his forces with Irish troops, and to begin with the regiment of the duke of Berwick, his natural son; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refused to admit them; and five captains steadily adhered to him: upon which they were all cashiered; and had not the discontents of the army, on this occasion, been very apparent, it was resolved to punish those officers for mutiny.

The king now resolved to try the dispositions of his army in a more important case, in which their uniformity would enforce universal obedience. This was to engage them to consent to the repeal of the test and the penal statutes, and he determined to proceed regularly with all the regiments: accordingly, the major of Litchfield's drew out his battalion before the king, and told the men, that they were required either to enter into his majesty's views in these particulars, or to lay down their arms. To the surprize of James, the whole battalion, except two captains and a few popish soldiers, embraced the latter part of the alternative. The king,

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for some time, remained speechless; but, on his recovering from his astonishment, ordered them to take up their arms, adding, with a sullen air of discontent, "For the future, I will not do you the honour to ask your approbation."

At length, on the 23d of September, the king received a letter from the marquis of Abbeville, his minister at the Hague, which contained certain information of the intended invasion. He instantly turned pale, and stood motionless; the letter dropped from his hand; his eyes were opened, and he found himself on the brink of a precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. He now suddenly retracted those fatal measures, by which he had created to himself so many enemies. He replaced, in all the counties, the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions, for their adherence to the test and the penal laws: he restored the charters of all the corporations; annulled the court of ecclesiastical commissions, and abrogated its oppressive decisions. In his present distress he laid aside his former haughtiness, and deigned to caress those bishops whom he had so lately prosecuted and imprisoned: but all these measures were considered as symptoms of fear, and not of repentance.

Meanwhile the prince of Orange published his declaration, and caused it to be dispersed throughout England. It enumerated all the grievances of the nation; the dispensing and suspending power; the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with catholics, and raising a jesuit to be privy-counsellor; the open encouragement given to popery, by building churches, colleges, and seminaries for that sect; displacing the judges who refused to pass sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling the charters of all corporations;

rations; the treating of the most modest petitions, even from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland; and the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. The prince of Orange declared, that his sole aim in coming to England, was to redress these grievances, and protect the people from the king's evil counsellors, by their having a free and legal parliament, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation; adding, that no one could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other design than to procure the full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property; and that though the English ministers, terrified by his enterprize, had pretended to redress some of the above grievances, there still remained an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown, by which those grievances might be instantly restored; for which there could be no other remedy but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subject in a free parliament.

Besides this declaration, there was published a letter from the prince to the army; another from Herbert to the seamen; and a tract directed to the people, composed by bishop Burnet, in defence of the lawfulness of the prince's undertaking.

The prince of Orange sailed from Helvoetsluice with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men, on the 21st of October. The first night they were at sea, a furious tempest attacked them, the horror of which was augmented by the darkness of the season, the largeness of the fleet greatly increased the danger, and the terrors of the landmen; the number
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of horses, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put hastily on board, and ill fastened, added equally to the distraction and the danger. In two hours the whole fleet was dispersed, so that in the morning scarcely two ships could be seen together.

As reports are always increased by distance, it was believed in England that the whole armament was lost. James received the news at dinner, and cried out, "It is not to be wondered at, for the host has been exposed these several days."

The fleet however presently reassembled, without having sustained any material damage, and proceeded again to sea. In compliment to England Herbert led the van; Evertzen, a Dutch admiral, brought up the rear; the prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himself in the centre, his ship carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, with this motto: "I will maintain the protestant religion, and the liberties of England."

The fleet made sail again with a fair wind on the first of November. At first it steered to the northward, in order to mislead the advice-boats which lay to observe it, by making them suppose, that he meant to land in the north of England. This stratagem succeeded, these flying vessels carried the report to England, and James, in consequence thereof, directed a considerable part of his army to march to the north. As soon as night came on, and the course of the fleet could be no longer observed, the prince tacked about, and put his whole force before the wind to the westward. On the second morning after he sailed, his fleet was discovered stretching towards the channel, with all the sail it could spread. His ships formed a line of twenty miles in extent; so that while the rear was in a manner close at hand, the van could scarcely be discerned. During seven hours, this huge body
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continued passing in the view of both shores, which were covered with innumerable spectators, who stood gazing with admiration, mixed with terror, upon a spectacle at once so pleasing and delightful; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations, according to the different religions, or interests, or passions of the nations, before whom it passed. When the fleet approached the coast of England, the prince changed his ship, and sailed at the head of all, to be the foremost in danger; displaying his own standard, in order to make himself more conspicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day he lay by in the straits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet should come up; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in so narrow a sea, and, by that means, to conquer first the imagination of those whom he was invading; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the English fleet which lay behind him at the gun-fleet. In this council it was resolved to change the disposition of the fleet, and that the prince, with the transports, and three ships of war to guard him, should sail down the channel in the van, while all the other ships of war should remain in the rear, to engage the English, in case they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up in one body, of about sixteen ships deep, which stretched from coast to coast, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the straits*. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike instruments again sounded, the vessels saluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited in the sight of the people, who were assembled on the coasts of both

* Rapin.

kingdoms.

kingdoms. But the same strong east wind which carried the prince triumphantly through the channel, prevented the English fleet from coming out: for the ships rode at their station, with their yards and top-masts down, unable to purchase their anchors, and saw part of the Dutch fleet pass within their sight *. Circumstances favourable to the English fleet, for though the earl of Dartmouth, who commanded it, was not suspected of betraying the prince whom he served; yet he knew that some of his captains had engaged not to fight against the prince of Orange, and three others were irresolute what to do; he had however resolved to render the contrast conspicuous, between their conduct and his own †.

Before the fleet of Holland reached the place of its destination, the English fleet was under sail; but a sudden change of the wind to the southward, wafted the prince of Orange into Torbay, the place at which he had proposed to land; whilst it drove lord Dartmouth's fleet back to its former station. Even the firmest minds, in great situations, are apt to regard omens; the prince was anxious to land on the 4th of November, because it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage; but the English rejoiced that the landing could not be effected until the next day, which being the anniversary of the gunpowder treason, they imagined would again prove a lucky day to the protestant cause. As soon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expressing their gratitude by prayers to that Providence, which they believed had interposed in their favour.

When the prince of Orange first landed in England, he found the country very backward to repair.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 414.
Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 223.

† Sir John Dalrymple's

to repair to his standard, such terrors had the severities of Jefferies, and the royal army, spread far and wide. Slight repulses were not sufficient to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, encountered adversity : he continued ten days in expectation of being joined by some or other of those malecontents that had invited him over, but in vain ; he then began to deliberate about re-embarking his forces, and he is said, in a fit of peevishness at his disappointment, to have publicly declared his intentions to depart immediately, and to leave the people of England, and their king, to settle their differences by themselves. However, before he had taken any steps for a return, several persons of consequence joined him ; whereupon the country people flocked to his standard : every day brought him a considerable accession of strength. The nobility, which had composed the court and council of king James, now left their former master, to solicit protection from a new power. The prince of Orange observed however, with emphasis, to the first considerable body of gentry who waited upon him, “ that he had come upon *their* invitation, and had expected them *sooner*.”

At length every part of the kingdom caught the same spirit. The earl of Danby seized York ; lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire ; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince ; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. - The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause. In the mean time a petition for a free parliament, signed by twenty-four bishops and peers, was presented to the king, and no one thought of opposing or resisting the invader. The officers of the army seemed all disposed to prefer the interest of their religion and their country, to their fidelity to a prince who had

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violated his engagements to both. Lord Colchester was the first who deserted, with a few of his troops, to the prince. Lord Lovelace made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and brought a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters; and Feversham, the general, was told by several officers, that their conscience would not allow them to fight against the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, who had been raised from the rank of a page, invested with a high command in the army, and created a peer by James, thought his obligations to his religion and his country, superior to those he owed to the king; and carried with him to the prince, the duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons.

James had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received the news of lord Churchill having gone over to the prince, which gave him the most sensible concern. There were none in whom he could confide; and as the whole army discovered symptoms of discontent, he suddenly marched with them towards London; but stopping at Andover, the first stage of his retreat, prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewet, and other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night, and hastened to the prince of Orange's camp. This news no sooner reached London, than the princess Anne withdrew herself, in company with the bishop of London and lady Churchill, and retired to Nottingham, where she was received with great respect by the earl of Dorset, and the gentry of the county formed a troop for her guard.

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The princesses had been educated in the protestant religion, by the order of the late king; and James no sooner heard of his being deserted by his daughter Anne, than he burst into tears, and cried, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" Unable to resist the torrent which prevailed against him, he seemed as much depressed by his adversity, as he had been vainly elated by his prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners, to treat with the prince of Orange.

At the same time addressing himself to the earl of Bedford; "You, my lord, said he, are an honest man; have great credit, and can do me signal service." "Sir, said the earl, with a sigh, I am a feeble old man; but I had a son, who, if he had been now alive, could have served your majesty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the great lord Russel, whom James had caused to be unjustly executed in the last reign. At this the king was so struck, that he could not answer a word.

The queen seeing every thing in confusion, was filled with terror; the popish courtiers, and, above all, the priests, dreading that they should be the first sacrifice, resolved to leave the kingdom, and were desirous of carrying the king along with them. The general defection of the protestants made the king regard the catholics, as the only subjects on whose advice he could rely. The news he received from all quarters filled him with continual alarms; and impelled by his own fears, and those of others, he precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; but first sent off the queen, and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself

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disappeared in the night, on the 12th of December, attended only by Sir Edward Hale, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. This measure, which was the most grateful to his enemies, he performed with the utmost privacy, and nothing could equal the surprize with which the court and the city were seized, at the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, he had not appointed any one to exercise any part of the administration in his absence; he had recalled all the writs which had been issued for the election of a new parliament; and, as he was sailing down the Thames, threw the great seal into the river. The government being thus dissolved, the populace rose in a tumult, and not only destroyed all the mass-houses, but rifled the houses of the Spanish ambassador and Florentine envoy, where many of the catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, had disguised himself in a waterman's habit, in order to pass out of the kingdom; but being discovered by the populace, he felt that merchants treatment which he had been wont to inflict on others. He was carried in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the lord-mayor, where that countenance was exposed ignominiously, which was wont to strike terror on all who beheld it. Jefferies having been, with difficulty, rescued from the violence of those who surrounded him, was committed to the Tower, more for protection than for punishment, where he died of a disease contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult *.

The prince of Orange was active in improving the national ferment to the most beneficial pur-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 240.

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poses; neither did he hesitate to assume an authority which the present exigency had put into his hands. Besides the general popularity attending his cause, a new incident made his approach to London still more welcome. In the general consternation which had seized the people, a rumour was spread, either by chance or design, that the disbanded Irish in the king's army had taken arms, and began a massacre of the protestants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible easily find credit: none enquired into the truth of the massacre; all supposed it to be true: the panic shot through the kingdom like an electric shock. In the city the report was said to have been brought from the country; in the country it was said to have come from the city. The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they saw, at a distance, the smoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in the neighbourhood. The people in every village, and in every town, ran to arms; the whole kingdom exhibited a scene of consternation and horror; and in London the shops were shut, and the doors of most houses barricadoed. It is surprising, that the catholics were not all sacrificed in the rage which naturally succeeds to such popular panics.

In the midst of this general anarchy some of the peers, together with many of the bishops who happened to be in London, assumed the reins of government. This body, which was composed of about thirty, formed themselves into a regular council, fixed a council-room, appointed lord Halifax for their president, and exercised all powers of prerogative. They directed the magistrates of London to raise the militia; issued orders to the fleet, to the king's disbanded army, and to all the
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considerable garrisons in England; and they published a declaration, in which they censured the king for his flight, and resolved to apply to the prince for protection from the dangers of popery and slavery. Their orders were every where obeyed: from the highest appearance of disorder, all things, in a few days, subsided into composure and subordination.

While the prince was marching leisurely towards London, the unwelcome news arrived, that the king had been seized by some fishermen at Feverham, as he was making his escape in disguise; and had been abused by the mob till he was known; but that the gentry had interposed and protected him, yet refused to consent to his escape. This news being delivered to the council while they were sitting, they ordered lord Feverham, with two hundred of the king's life-guards, and his coaches, to attend him; and to leave it to himself either to retire abroad, or to return*. He chose to return to London; and on his arrival there, the populace, actuated by their natural levity, received him with shouts and acclamations. The prince of Orange, who was at Windsor, on hearing of the king's being stopped, expressed his displeasure at the officiousness of those who had prevented his going off; and sent him a letter, not to come nearer London than Rochester; but James did not receive it till he was in London.

While the king resided at Whitehall, little attention was paid him by the nobility, or any persons of distinction; and he himself discovered no symptoms of spirit. It was therefore resolved to make him resume his former resolution. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall;

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

and

and Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, delivered him a message from the prince, desiring him to leave the palace the next morning, and to depart for Ham, the seat of the dukes of Lauderdale. He desired permission, which was easily granted, to retire to Rochester. He lingered there for some days, under the protection of a Dutch guard, seeming still to expect an invitation to keep possession of the throne: but observing, that the church, the nobility, and the city, concurred in neglecting him, he submitted to his fate, and, on the twenty-third of December, embarked on board a frigate, which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, thence he hastened to St. Germain, and was received by Louis with great expressions of regard. During the rest of his life he enjoyed the empty title of king, and the appellation of saint, a title which still flattered him more than the former one. Thus he continued to reside among a people who pitied, ridiculed, and despised him. He enrolled himself in the order of jesuits; and the court of Rome, for whom he had lost all, repaid him only with indulgences and pasquinades*.

From this moment the constitution of England that had fluctuated for so many ages was fixed. The nation represented by its parliament, determined the long contested limits between the king and the people; they prescribed to the prince of Orange the terms by which he was to rule; they chose him for king jointly with Mary, who was the next protestant heir to the crown. They were crowned by the title of William III. and Mary, king and queen of England.—Thus was protestantism and the natural rights of mankind firmly established in England; and it is extremely remarkable, that a

* Goldsmith.

century was then exactly compleated since Philip II. of Spain had made his tremendous attempt to establish popery and slavery in this country, which was rendered abortive by English courage and skill, aided by the intervention of heaven.

James the second was a prince who had some good qualities; for he was remarkable for his frugality of public money, his industry, his application to naval affairs, and his encouragement of trade. His advocates have even asserted, that he highly valued himself on his sincerity, though his whole reign was a continued violation of his reiterated promises of preserving the liberties and religion of the nation. So lofty was the idea which he had entertained of his authority, that it left his subjects, in his opinion, no right to liberty, but what was dependent on his sovereign will and pleasure. He confined all power, encouragement, and favour, to the Catholics, and violated every consideration of justice and prudence, by his bigoted zeal in promoting the Popish religion. But even where religion was not concerned, he was obstinate, proud, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting. He acted in defiance of the laws and constitution of the kingdom; burst in sunder all those ties which unite subjects to their sovereign, and made it necessary for them to exert themselves in defence of every thing most dear and valuable, by shaking off the yoke of an arbitrary tyrant. In short, if people have a right to the possession of their own property, till they part with it by their own consent, or by that of their representatives; if they have a right to the blessings of religious and civil liberty, and kings were only appointed for the purpose of defending them; the people of England had a right, from nature, from reason, and the calls of duty, to expel a monarch who made it his business to destroy what he was bound to defend. But
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on the other hand, if subjects were created only for the advantage and the pleasure of kings; if these have a divine right to be tyrants, as some have asserted; and subjects are appointed by heaven to be slaves, James had reason to complain of being deprived of the crown, and stripped of the infernal power of rendering millions unhappy at his pleasure.

Thus have we seen through the course of four reigns a continual struggle maintained between the crown and the people; privilege and prerogative were ever at variance: and both parties; besides the present object of dispute, had many latent claims, which on a favourable occasion, they produced against their adversaries. Governments too steady and uniform, as they are seldom free, so are they in the judgment of some, attended with another sensible inconvenience: they abate the active powers of men; depress courage, invention and genius; and produce an universal lethargy in the people. Though this opinion may be just, yet it must be allowed, that the fluctuation and contest of the English government, were during these reigns much too violent both for the repose and the safety of the people. Foreign affairs, at that time, were either entirely neglected, or managed to pernicious purposes; and in the domestic administration there was felt a continual fever, either latent or ap-
parent*.

“ England, says the abbé Raynal, owes its national character to its natural position, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the sea, to commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of vigorous minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and proud in a civilized one, this spirit of liberty always reigned in the

* Hume's History of England, Vol. VIII. p. 320.

breasts of the English, even, when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

“ This was the nation, that first discovered the injustice and insignificance of ecclesiastical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuses of the feudal government. This was the nation, that was the first to revolt and throw off this triple load of oppression. Until the reign of Henry the eighth, they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but at length, in chusing them, they paved the way for abolishing, punishing, or expelling them.

“ The kings of England however thought themselves absolute, because all those of the rest of Europe were so. The title of monarch deceived James the first; he annexed unlimited authority to it. He maintained this opinion with so much frankness, with such an insatiation, that led him even not to distrust his own pretensions, so far as to make him think it necessary to support them previously by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in this flattering illusion, which he persevered in to the end. He died full of self-estimation, and despised by his people; who knew the weakness of the monarch, and were sensible of their own strength.

“ The English, to put an end to the spirit of revenge and diffidence, which would have been perpetuated between the king and the people after the tragical end of Charles the first, chose from a foreign race a prince who was obliged to accept of that social compact, of which all hereditary kings affect to be ignorant. William the third received the crown on certain conditions, and contented himself with an authority established upon the same basis as the rights of the people.

“ Under the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had maintained a perpetual contest for the prerogatives

prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. But since a parliamentary or national title is become the sole right of kings, whatever faction disturbs the people, the force of the constitution prevails always in their favour.

“ The government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is tyranny ; democracy, which tends to anarchy ; and aristocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually observe, moderate, assist, and check each other, tends from its very principles to the national good. This constitution, of which there is no instance among the ancients, and which ought to serve as a model to posterity, will support itself a long time ; because it is not the result of manners, and of transient opinions ; but of reasoning and experience *.”

The great event which took place at this time, produced a series of public acts, in which no interests but those of the people at large, were considered and provided for ; no clause, even the most indirect, was inserted, either to gratify the present ambition, or favour the future views of those who were personally concerned in bringing those acts to a conclusion. Indeed, if any thing is capable of conveying to us an adequate idea of the soundness, as well as peculiarity of the principles, on which the English government is founded, it is the attentive perusal of the system of public compacts to which the revolution gave rise ; particularly the bill of rights, with all its different clauses, and the several acts which, under two subsequent

* Raynall's History, &c. Vol. V. p. 424. English Translation.

reigns, till the accession of the house of Hanover, were made in order to strengthen it *.

The revenue of James the Second had been raised by the parliament to about one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and his income, as duke of York, being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year; a sum well proportioned to the public necessities, but enjoyed by him in too independent a manner. The national debt, at the revolution, amounted to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

During the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, the navy was suffered to fall to decay; but James, soon after his accession, restored it to its former power and glory, and before he left the throne, carried it much farther. The administration of the admiralty under Pepys is still regarded as a model for order and œconomy. Mr. Burchet has given us a circumstantial account of the naval force which was collected together, under the command of lord Dartmouth, to oppose the Dutch fleet, the forces designed to make a descent in England, and which is as follows :

SHIPS *for the* MAIN FLEET.

Rates,	Ships Names.	Where they were.
3	Mary	} Coming to the Nore with Sir R. Strickland.
	Montague	
4	Affurance	
	Jersey	
	Constant Warwick	
	Bristol	
	Nonsuch	

* Delolme on the English Constitution, p. 297.
the House of Commons, 20th March, 1689.

† Journals of

Rates.

Rates.	Ships Names.		Where they were.
4		Crown Dover Mordaunt Greenwich Tyger Bonadventure	Coming to the Nore with Sir Roger Strick- land.
6		Larke	
	Fire-ships	Sally-Rose Half-Moon St. Paul	
	Yachts Three		
4		Forefight Deptford	
	Fire-ship	Dartmouth	
4		Faulcon	Coming to the Nore from Yarmouth.
	Fire-ship	Sampson	
6		Saudadoes	In the Downs.

S H I P S *sitting out.*

3		Defiance Resolution Henrietta Cambridge Elizabeth Pendennis	At Blackstake, near Sheer- ness.
4		Newcastle Woolwich	
3		Rupert York Dreadnought Plymouth	In the Hope.
	Fire-ships	Pearl Richmond Charles and Henry Unity	
			At Portsmouth.

Rates.

Rates.	Ships Names.		Where they were.
4		Advice	} At Spithead.
		Diamond	
		Ruby	
		St. David	
6		Centurion	} In Long Reach.
		Portsmouth	
		Firedrake	
	Fire-ships	Guardland	
		Guernsey	
		Swan	
Fire-ships		Sophia	} In Long Reach.
		Speedwell	
		Elizabeth and Sarah	
		Cignet	
		Charles	
		Roebuck	
4		Antelope	} At Deptford.
		St. Albans	
		Swallow	

A B S T R A C T.

Rates.	Number.	
3	14	
4	24	
6	2	
Fire-ships	18	{ Most of which were made so from fifth rates
Yachts	3	
	<hr/> 61	

Of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle.

The

The commerce and riches of England had never during any period increased so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the states, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with was from a few French privateers, who infested the channel; and Charles did not interpose in behalf of his subjects with sufficient spirits and vigour. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlements of Pennsylvania and Carolina extended the English empire in America. The persecutions of the dissenters, contributed to augment and people these colonies. But king James, soon after he came to the crown, revoked the charters which had been granted to the American settlements, and by which their liberties were secured; and sent over governors invested with absolute powers. The arbitrary principles of that monarch, says Mr. Hume, "appear in every part of his administration *."

Dr. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England more than doubled during the twenty-eight years that passed between the restoration and the revolution. The increase of coinage during the two last reigns was ten millions two hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. A board of trade was erected in 1670, and the earl of Sandwich was made president. Charles revived and supported the charter of the East-India company, but how far the nation was benefited by this measure, or whether it was benefited at all, is a matter concerning which political reasoners are not agreed.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VIII. p. 330.

Sir Josiah Child asserts, that in 1688 there were more men worth ten thousand pounds on the 'Change than in the year 1650 were worth one thousand pounds; that five hundred pounds for a daughter's portion was in the earlier period deemed a larger portion than two thousand pounds in the latter one. That gentlewomen in the more remote time thought themselves well cloathed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid in 1688 would not have appeared in; he adds, that besides the great increase of rich cloaths, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented an hundred fold.

Until the time of the revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England; and that during a very short period. The star-chamber, while that court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. History furnishes abundant instances of the severity of that court, against those who presumed to write on political subjects; it fixed the number of printers and printing-presses; and appointed a licenser, without whose approbation no book could be published; and as this tribunal decided matters by its own single authority, without the intervention of a jury, it was always ready to find those persons guilty, whom the king, or his ministers, were pleased to look upon as such. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1641, the long parliament, whose conduct and assumed power were little better qualified to bear a scrutiny, revived the regulations against the freedom of the press; and this authority was continued during all the periods of the republic and protectorship. Charles the Second, and after him James the Second, procured farther renewals of these restrictions. The latter acts having expired in 1692, were, although at an æra posterior to the revolution, continued for two years longer, so that
it

it was not till the year 1694 that, in consequence of the parliament refusing to continue the prohibitions any longer, the freedom of the press was finally established. The important privilege which was thereby granted to the people was much disrelished by the king and his ministers, who seeing no where, in any government which then subsisted, or which had existed in past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought, that no publications would ever so much improve the general understanding of men as to render it safe to entrust them with an indulgence so easily abused. Hereby the people are allowed openly to canvass and arraign the conduct of those who are invested with any branch of public authority; and thereby is delivered into the hands of the people at large, the exercise of the censorial power. So that every subject in England has not only a right to present petitions to the king, or the houses of parliament, but he has a right also to lay his complaints and observations before the public by means of an open press. A formidable right this to those that rule mankind, and which continually dispelling the cloud of majesty by which they are surrounded, brings them to a level with the rest of the people, and strikes at the very being of their authority.



T H E
N A V A L H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

B O O K 'IV.

*The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN; its Trade,
Commerce, and Colonizations, from the Revolution
to the Accession of the BRUNSWICK Line.*

C H A P. I.

*The Reign of King William III. until the Death of
Queen Mary—Scotch Parliament settle the Crown
on William and Mary—Behaviour of King William
on taking the Coronation Oath of Scotland—Origin
of the Appellation of Nonjuror—Heath-Money abo-
lished—Mutiny Act—Act of Toleration—Settlement
of the Revenue—War declared against France—
Declaration of Rights—James arrives in Ireland
—Sea-fight near Bantry-Bay—English and Dutch
Fleets engage the French off Beachy-head—Impri-
sonment and Trial of Herbert, Lord Torrington
Commander in Chief—Preparations of France for
a Descent on England—Admiral Russel puts to Sea
—Memorable Victory over the French Fleet off La
Hogue*

Hogue—Meditated Descent on France—Conspiracy against the King's Life—Unsuccessful Expedition from New-England against Canada—Losses sustained by England during the two first Years of the War—Miscarriage of a Design upon Dunkirk—The House of Commons enquire into the Conduct of Admiral Ruffel—Dispute between the Lords and Commons concerning him—Establishment of the Land-Tax, and Supplies granted for 1693—Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean—Admiral Bembow bombards St. Maloes—Establishment of the Bank of England—Pondicherry taken by the Dutch East-India Company—State of the Royal Navy—Death of Queen Mary.

WHAT is most to admire in this memorable revolution is, the sudden, peaceable, and, as it were, unanimous accomplishment of it. Had no such personage as the great Nassau intervened, whose virtues uniting with great talents, were capable of composing the jarring rage of party, England would, most probably, have been again deluged with the blood of its inhabitants. All the miseries attendant on civil discord would, once more, have been felt, and England might have seen the all-grasping power of Louis XIV. rivet the chains of slavery on her restless sons for ever. Though William was chosen king of England, his power was limited on every side; and the opposition he met with from his parliaments, still lessened his authority. His sway in Holland, where he was but the stadtholder, was far more arbitrary; so that he might, with greater propriety, have been called the king of the United Provinces, and the stadtholder of England. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the difficulty of governing the nation by which he was elected; he expected in them

a people ready to second his views of humbling France; but he was teased by the humours as well as the parties of his new subjects. The number of the great, who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the cause of the revolution, or whom it was of consequence to conciliate to it, was so considerable, that it became impossible to gratify the expectations of the former, or to hold out sufficient temptations to the latter. Hence some of them complained of the king's ingratitude, and others of his neglect. Besides, the king had none of those engaging assiduities and courtesies in his behaviour, which secure the good-will and attachment of mankind, and which alone had rendered the destructive dissipation of Charles the Second supportable to a nation, never inclined, for any length of time, to approve the conduct of their rulers. William was naturally inattentive and reserved; having been born and educated in Holland, he had acquired a certain saturnine humour, which was rather unfortunately contrasted with the agreeable levity of his uncle. In short, William possessed only the solid talents, Charles displayed the shining ones: his subjects therefore did not discover the extensive plans for the interests of Europe, which were ever predominant in his thoughts, and excluded ideas of a lighter and more frivolous nature. Among the lower ranks of the kingdom, a national characteristic of the English soon appeared: the populace of London took offence at the looks, the dress, and language of the Dutch troops: they despised the modest deportment, and parsimonious manners, of the Dutch officers, and insulted the soldiers. These foreigners at first knew not what to make of such treatment from men who had invited them into their country, and who styled them their deliverers; but, at length, resolving it into national

onal caprice and petulance, they passed it by, and apparently, at least, overlooked it.

The Scotch parliament were not long after that of England, in making an offer of the crown to William and Mary. An accidental circumstance which happened on his taking the coronation oath, rendered him popular among the Scotch. The administration of the coronation oath of Scotland was performed with much solemnity: the king, stretching out his right hand while he swore, repeated each word deliberately after the person who read the form of the oath. A clause was contained in it, by which the king engaged to root out heretics. At these words William stopped the earl of Argyle, who was administering the oath, and declared he would, on no account, become a persecutor. The commissioners replied, that such was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," said the king, "I take it in that sense only." Such scrupulous attention to the engagements he entered into, was becoming a king, and highly pleasing to the people.

One of the first resolves of the new council was, to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. While the two houses were deliberating on the royal revenue, they received a message from the king, importing, that the late king had sailed from Brest, with an armament to invade Ireland. Hereupon they resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessments; and both houses waited on the king to signify their resolution. But this unanimity did not take place,
until

until several lords, spiritual as well as temporal, had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from parliament. Five recusant bishops withdrew themselves from the house at one time, with eight temporal peers. From this period, the party averse to the government of William, were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

William now pressed his parliament to enable him to make head against the abdicated king in Ireland; the language he used on the occasion deserves to be commemorated. "I assure you," said the king, "I will never abuse the confidence you shall put in me; being fully persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a good government between a king and his people, but a mutual trust: when that is once broken, a government is half dissolved: it shall therefore be my chief care never to give any parliament cause to distrust me; and the best method I can choose for that purpose is, never to expect any thing from them, but what it shall be their own interest to grant." He then proceeded to urge the necessity of preparing for war without delay; the payment of the Dutch charges in the cause of the revolution, and the settlement of the revenue. To reduce Ireland he demanded twenty thousand men; for the marine service he said a powerful fleet was necessary to be joined to that of Holland, in order to guard the seas against France. "The Dutch," he said, "had neglected their own safety, to relieve England from the extremity she was under. By this conduct they had drawn inevitable destruction upon themselves, unless the service was now repaid: the grand enemy

my to the repose of Europe, meditated the destruction of Holland, as the previous step to that of England. The Dutch have really," continued he, "exhausted themselves to a degree which is not easy to be imagined; and I am confident your generosity towards them, will have as little bounds as theirs had towards you."

Among the army there were some corps disaffected to the reigning prince; and of the Scotch, the royal regiment of dragoons particularly, which are known at present by the name of the Scotch grays; and lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The last of these had been the favourite regiment of the late king, because it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and soldiers were at this time disgusted, because lord Dumbarton had been dismissed from the command of it, and marshal Schomberg put in his room. William therefore resolved to send over the disaffected corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace some of the Dutch troops, which, as he could confide in, he determined to keep in England. The regiments which were to be sent off mutinied in their march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for king James, and, with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. The king immediately hereupon ordered general Ginkle to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, to whom the mutineers surrendered at discretion. The king removed a few of their officers, and inflicted no farther punishment on the corps, than to take from them the power of doing mischief, by sending them to the place of their destination; and soon after he transported the other disaffected troops into Flanders. Thus turning that animosity of spirit against the nation's

nation's enemies, which if suffered to gain strength at home, might have recoiled against the power it was designed to protect. This mutiny gave rise to a law, which made an important innovation in the English constitution, namely, the act for punishing mutiny and desertion. By this law a legal sanction was given to the establishment of standing armies, which had been hitherto rather connived at than authorized by parliament. This act, limited to the space of one year, has ever since been annually renewed; but the renewal being almost considered as a matter of course, the form serves only to keep the people in mind that standing armies were deemed illegal by their ancestors*.

William with a view to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, sent a message to the commons, in which he desired, that in settling the revenue, they would either take away or regulate the tax of hearth, or chimney-money, a tax which produced two hundred and nine thousand pounds a year, but which was a great oppression to the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered and searched at pleasure by the officers of the revenue.

During the same session of parliament it was enacted, that when the price of malt or barley was at one pound four shillings per quarter, or under; rye at one pound twelve shillings, and wheat at two pounds eight shillings per quarter; then it shall not only be lawful to export the same, but the exporters should also receive bounties without paying any customs or fees whatever, on giving security that such corn shall be legally landed beyond sea; and the ship and crew by which it was exported are duly

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. 1. p. 280.

qualified

qualified according to the acts of navigation. This was the first law which allowed any bounty on corn exported. Such bounties have generally been esteemed highly beneficial to the landed interest. "In other countries," says a French author, "the people pay their sovereign for leave to carry out their corn; but wiser England pays her people for exporting it."

The king was baffled in all his schemes for the uniting of his protestant subjects, the act of toleration only excepted. A bill was passed into a law, under the title of *An act for exempting all their majesties protestant subjects, of the several denominations dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws.* It enacted, that none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth of Charles the Second, provided that they should hold no private assemblies, or conventicles, with the doors shut; and that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tythes, and other parochial dues. That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who shall take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth, and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish offices; yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to anabaptists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise before God, to be faithful to

the king and queen; and their assenting, by profession and asseveration, to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and in the holy scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposals of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he could not pretend to screen the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration*.

The next law that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted

* Smollett's *History of England*, Vol. VIII. p. 306.

to both houses at the next session. At this juncture the prevailing party, or the whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years, that the king might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant, by a just and popular administration. The revenue was therefore granted by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointment of the queen-dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and marshal Schomberg. The commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace. These restraints, laid on the application of the public money, were highly displeasing to the king, who considered them as implying a mistrust of his conduct. He hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, which the struggles of contending parties seemed but ill calculated to promote, by turning the rage of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in every other thing, was unanimous in favouring the inclination of the king on this point. Both houses therefore, in an address, assured him of their support in a war against France; the king could not conceal his joy when he received it. In his answer he said, "that the measures of France approached so nearly to a declaration of war, that a war on the part of England was not so much an act of choice as of necessity." The empire, Spain, Holland, the elector of Brandenburg, united, at the same time, against France, and many other princes prepared to join them. The hour seemed to approach when Louis XIV. was to be called upon, to pay the forfeit he had long owed

for his insults to all the nations around him. William is reported to have said to his confidants, that the day on which England joined the other powers of Europe against their common enemy, was the first day of his reign. But as James was in Ireland, those who considered the posture of affairs with less sanguine expectations, foresaw, that a war on the part of England must chiefly be defensive. Others, who examined the nature of free and trading nations, were persuaded, that an alliance between England and Holland, under one common prince, could not fail to be the subject of jealousy to both countries.

On the 7th day of May war was declared against France: on this occasion Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denouncing war against the ally of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee Islands, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's Bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties, and the laws of nations; and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

On the 27th day of July 1689, the princess Ann was delivered of a son, which was christened by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Gloucester.

On the breaking out of this war with France, the mismanagement of the two last reigns, in cultivating such a friendly intercourse with that kingdom, became fatally apparent. Under the administration of Richelieu, France had no naval force; and

and at the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. the protector, Cromwell, testified the utmost contempt for the French power at sea. The two wars with the Dutch, which England had waged during the reign of Charles II. and in which the French were inactive auxiliaries, had been the means of training them to sea affairs. From that time they made a rapid progress in their marine, and in a few years were in a situation to encounter either of the two commercial states of England or Holland, on their own element. In 1676 they actually beat the Dutch, and the Spaniards in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous admiral De Ruyter. At this time they were grown so much stronger, that during a great part of this reign, they were able to contest the empire of the sea against the combined fleets of both the maritime powers. So that king William entered upon this war with great disadvantage; for while the enemy took every opportunity of pouring supplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were so perplexed, that it was some time before he could provide a force sufficient to cruise on the coast of that kingdom. The comparative strength of the English and French navies will appear from the following abstracts; one of which is given by Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty; the other is taken from Dr. Campbell; the latter of which being made eight years before the war broke out, the condition of France must be supposed to have greatly improved.

The

The State of the Royal Navy of England, as it was on the 18th of December 1688, being the Day King James withdrew. 398

NAVAL HISTORY [Book IV.

Ships and Vessels.	At Sea, or going out.	Repaired; In Harbours to be Repaired, Repaired.	Newly come in from Sea.	Total.	Men.	Guns.
Rates						
1	5	3	1	9	6705	878
2	9	1	1	11	7010	974
3	15	1	1	39	16545	2640
4	31	3	4	41	9480	1908
5	2			2	260	60
6	4	2		6	420	90
Bombers	1	2		3	120	33
Fire-ships	26			26	905	218
Hoyes		6		6	22	
Hulks	1	7		8	50	
Ketches	3			3	115	24
Smacks		5		5	18	
Yachts	9	5		14	353	104
	92	66	3	173	42003	6030

Abstract

Abstract of the French Navy, as it stood in 1681.

Rates.	Force.	Number.	Cannon.	Superior Officers.	Naval Officers.	Seamen.	Soldiers.	Whole Crew.
1	120 to 70 guns	12	1080	108	1232	4132	2486	7850
2	70 to 56	21	1518	189	1719	4470	2661	8850
3	56 to 40	36	1928	251	2350	6142	3008	11500
4	40 to 30	26	1088	556	1167	2713	1570	5450
5	28 to 18	20	608	119	681	1427	682	2790
<hr/>								
Total		115	6222	823	7149	18884	10407	36440
Light frigates, 20 to 16		24	400	125	446	937	497	1880
Bomb vessels and fire-ships		8	74	16	80	160		240
Barks		10	43	20	90	190		280
Flutes		22	341	44	190	447		637
<hr/>								
Total		179	7080	1028	7955	20618	10904	39477

Exclusive of thirty galleys, on board which were above three thousand men.

Admiral

Admiral Herbert was invested with the command of the English fleet; and, in the beginning of the month of April 1689, sailed for Cork, after being reinforced; so that his squadron consisted of eighteen men of war, a frigate, and a fire-ship: he proceeded by Cape Clear, where he came in sight of the French fleet, standing into Bantry Bay: it consisted of twenty-eight sail, according to the English accounts; but the French acknowledge it to have been no more than twenty-four. This fleet was commanded by Chateau Renaut, and was designed to protect some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of James. Herbert could not come up with the enemy until the 1st of May, when he stood in to engage them. The French admiral, conscious of his superiority, and perceiving the intention of the English, weighed anchor, formed his fleet into a line of battle, and advanced, in regular order, to the combat. The ardour of the English admiral, and of English seamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line being formed with the same regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and shewed, by their workings, to the astonishment of the English, that their vessels were agile, and their seamen dexterous. The battle continued the greatest part of the day, without any decisive success on either side. Herbert tacked several times, in hopes of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept the wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. In the evening the English retired towards Scilly, the French towards Ireland. No ships were lost on either side, but several were disabled. Each admiral laid claim to the victory, as it often happens in sea-engagements; but the English officers and seamen looked upon it as a defeat, because they had gained no
decisive

decisive advantage on their own element, and the French accounted it a victory not to have been defeated. The latter, however, made their disembarkation good, and returned unmolested into the port of Brest, which determined on whose side the advantage lay. Herbert expected a reinforcement to join him at the Scilly Isles, but receiving none, he returned to Portsmouth much chagrined, and the officers and seamen partook of his ill humour. King William, in order to appease these discontents, visited his fleet at Portsmouth, went on board the admiral's ship Elizabeth, where he dined, and bestowed a peerage on Herbert; knighted the captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private seaman. The men, highly gratified by this behaviour of their sovereign, were led to believe that they had beat that enemy, by whom a few days ago they had acknowledged they were defeated.

James had arrived in Ireland in March, Louis having supplied him with arms, money, and necessities of all kind for the camp and the household; he had brought over with him a considerable number of French officers. M. d'Avaux was named ambassador to the dethroned prince, and attended him with great pomp. Louis himself went to take leave of James at St. Germain's, at parting he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, said, "The best thing I can wish you is, that I may never see you more." He was received by the catholics of Ireland with open arms. The protestants, who were strongly attached to king William, had been previously disarmed by Tyrconnel, their lord lieutenant, and a papist. James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the ac-

* Voltaire.

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clamations



clamations of the inhabitants. He was met by a popish procession, bearing the host, which he publicly adored; and this served to alienate the few protestants of that kingdom, who still adhered to his cause. A small party of that religion were resolved to defend their lives and liberties in the little city of Londonderry, in the north of Ireland. They were besieged by the forces of king James, and suffered all the complicated miseries of war, famine, and bigotted cruelty; but, determined never to yield, they rejected capitulation, and always repulsed the besiegers with considerable loss.

In the mean time, commodore Rooke, with a squadron of men of war and transport ships, and some land forces, under the command of major general Kirke, proceeded to the relief of Londonderry. The besiegers had laid a boom across the entrance of the river, which they had farther secured by chains, cables, and floating timber. They were likewise masters of strong redoubts, well furnished with cannon, which guarded each side of the entrance of the river. Notwithstanding these formidable obstacles to the relief of the place, yet the commodore and general determined on attempting it. They first attacked and took the little island of Inch in Lough Swille, six miles from Londonderry, which was considered as a previous step to the opening a communication with the place. A fortnight elapsed after this, before any thing effectual could be done; but the commanders, being sensible of the extremities to which the besieged were reduced, collected their whole force in order to succour it. On the 30th of June, the Mountjoy of Derry, commanded by captain Browning, and the Phoenix of Colrain, captain Douglass, both deeply laden with provisions, were sent towards the town, escorted by the Dartmouth frigate, captain Leake. They were

were exposed to a furious firing of the enemy from Kilmore, and both sides of the river, which they returned with great spirit. The Mountjoy struck against the boom, and broke it, but the violent shock it received ran her aground. The besiegers upon this gave a loud shout, and fired briskly upon her, whilst they were preparing their boats to board her, but the rebound of the guns on board the ship, disengaged her from the shore, and she again floated. The Phoenix and Dartmouth were all this time warmly engaged, and by keeping up a furious fire, the three ships reached the city to the unspeakable joy of the garrison, who were reduced to the last extremity of famine, having no other flesh provisions remaining but nine lean horses; and the allotment of a pint of meal to each man. Such extremity of distress had led some in the town to talk of killing the popish inhabitants and feeding on their bodies. The army of James was so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place.

The cruelties exercised upon the protestants were as shocking as unnecessary; soldiers were permitted to pillage them without redress; and they were compelled to accept base money in exchange for those commodities they were forced to sell. But their sufferings were soon to have a period. The duke of Schomberg was sent over, with reinforcements; and William himself soon after followed, and landed at Carrickfergus. He was met by numbers of the protestants, who had fled from persecution; and now, at the head of six and thirty thousand men, he was resolved to go in quest of the enemy. Having marched to Dundalk, and then to Ardee, he, at length, came in sight of the Irish army. The

river Boyne lay between the two armies, the front of the Irish being secured by a morass and a rising ground. These obstacles were insufficient to prevent the ardour of William, who, when his friend the duke of Schomberg expostulated upon the danger, boldly replied, That a tardy victory would be worse than a defeat. The duke, finding his advice not relished, retired to his tent in a melancholy manner, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune. Early in the morning, at six o'clock, king William gave orders to pass the river; the army passed in three different places, and the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, which have been reckoned the best in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home; they fled, after a long resistance, with precipitation, and left the French and Swiss regiments, who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and, at intervals, was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing the enemy, *O spare my English subjects*. The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing the water, seemed to outweigh all the numbers of the enemy. He had been long a soldier of fortune, and fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years; and he died aged eighty-two. James fled, regardless of the safety

safety of his soldiers. William rode round the scene of slaughter, relieving the wounded, as well of the enemy's troops as his own. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, "that if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle over again."*

This blow totally depressed the hope of James; he fled to Dublin, advised the magistrates to get the best terms they could from the victor, then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel prepared for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune.

Eight days after William had sailed for Ireland, M. Tourville, with seventy-eight great ships of war, appeared off Plymouth; with this fleet sailed twenty-two fire-ships, and a great number of frigates. Herbert, now created lord Torrington, was then at St. Helens, with only thirty-four ships of war; a fleet under admiral Russel having been sent to Spain and the Mediterranean, only part of which was at that time returned: the king likewise had several ships with him in Ireland, and a very small part of the Dutch squadron had as yet joined the English. The position of the French fleet cut off all reinforcements which the English might otherwise have received from the westward, and without some accession of force, it appeared temerity to come to an action. The admiral, thus circumstanced, called a council of war, in which it was agreed to avoid fighting. The queen, who was regent during the absence of the king her husband, was immediately informed of the state of the two fleets, and of the resolution which had been formed by the British officers. The French fleet proceeded

* Goldsmith.

through

through the Channel, and when they had passed St. Helens, Torrington put to sea, and kept the enemy in sight, still keeping his own fleet in shore, in order to prevent a descent being made; and in case he should be compelled to fight, that the superior force of the French might be of less avail, from being exerted in a narrow sea.

During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, the contrariety of whose sentiments frequently produced great embarrassment in determining upon public measures. The foreign invasion which now threatened her kingdom, had been undertaken in consequence of a confederacy which had been formed by the jacobites at home, which plot, to subvert the established constitution, and to restore the abdicated monarch, had just then been discovered. In this alarming posture of affairs, when the greatest firmness and self-possession were required to withstand the attacks of open and concealed enemies, the queen experienced additional perturbations of mind, from her apprehensions for her father's safety, and her husband's life. Nevertheless she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. She referred the opinion of the council of war to admiral Russel, the only member of the cabinet-council, who was by profession a seaman, and who was just then returned from an expedition up the straits. By this time advice was received of sixteen Dutch ships having joined the English fleet. Russel took advantage of this incident, and either from the contempt of French naval force, natural to an English officer, or in order to remove the only rival that stood in his way to the supreme command of the navy, gave a decisive opinion, that Torrington,

rington, with his force, ought to fight the French. Nor were weighty arguments wanting to support his opinion. The superiority of English and Dutch ships and seamen over those of France; the consciousness of that superiority in the seamen, which always animates men to perform wonders; the disgrace to the new government, if it should yield the empire of the sea in its own channel; the dread that the French fleet, if suffered to proceed on its course, would pass through the Channel, and enter the Thames, where they might spread devastation more widely than the Dutch had done twenty-three years before, and even shake the metropolis itself with their armament. If the English fleet should beat that of France, a train of happy consequences would ensue: it would remove the dread of foreign invasion and domestic sedition. It would save the ports of England, and the transports attending the king, the last of which were now cut off from all aid, except that which was to be found in the victory of the fleet, being exposed to the fire-ships and frigates of the French. On the other hand, the consequences which might be expected to follow a defeat, were not so alarming as those from a victory were decisively advantageous. As the combined fleet was on the English coasts, the seamen might run the ships into harbours where they might be protected from the enemy. The posture of affairs required a vigorous exertion, and the queen sent positive orders to Torrington to engage*.

The

* This transaction has much light thrown upon it by a letter which the queen wrote to the king, and which is preserved in Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 123, and from which we shall lay before our readers the following extracts:

Queen Mary to King William, on Lord Torrington's declining to fight.

Whitehall, July 8, 1690, at 8 o'clock in the morning.
June 28,

"SEEING I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday; as for lord Torrington's

The order arrived when the fleet was off Beachy-head on the coast of Suffex. Torrington had kept in sight of the French fleet some days, but their admiral, convinced of the judicious dispositions which the English had made, proceeded cautiously, and had not ventured to attack them. When the queen's orders arrived, Torrington quitted the coast, and advanced into the open sea to attack the enemy on the 30th day of June at day break; who formed in regular order to receive him. The combined

Torrington's letter you will have an account of that, and the answer from lord Nott.* I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when lord Nott. brought the letter; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Ruffel down to the fleet; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends, and believing lord Torrington being in the post he is in, and of his humour, ought not to be provoked; besides, I do believe lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that; so I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Ruffel drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign; but it was softened, and the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight; at last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed but lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms, (this was his expression) and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him; to which Mr. Ruffel answered, you must send for him prisoner then; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the sight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him the other accounts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. * * * * *

* Ten at night. I received your dear letter from Lough-bricklin, but I cannot express what I then felt, and still feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almost asleep, and almost puts me out of any possibility of saying any more, yet I must strive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter from the prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he sent you, so that I can say nothing, but that God, in whose hands all events only are, knows best why he has ordered it so, and to him we must submit. * * * * I must end my letter, for my eyes are at present in somewhat a worse condition than before I received your letter: my impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present; but I trust in God, who alone can preserve you and comfort me."

* Nottingham.

fleet

fleet consisted of twenty-two Dutch ships and thirty-four English. The Dutch squadron which composed the van, and was commanded by admiral Evertzen, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour afterwards the blue division of the English was closely engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the centre under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length the English admiral's division drove between them and the French; and in that situation the fleet anchored, about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. In the engagement three of the Dutch fleet were burnt, two of their admirals killed, and almost all the rest of their ships totally disabled*. The French pursued their retreating foes as far as Rye, and an English ship of seventy guns, called the *Anne*, being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted by the captains command. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of Bourne and Pevensey in Sussex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry, but her commander defended her so vigorously, that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her into Holland. The English lost in this unfortunate rencounter two

* Evertzen's Letter to the States.

of their ships, as many captains, and captains of marines, together with two hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch, who sustained the weight of the action, were more roughly handled! Besides three ships that were sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of Sussex. Their rear-admirals Dick and Brakel were slain, with one captain, and a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Bishop Burnet observes, that among the best judges, the count de Tourville was almost as much blamed for not making use of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was, on account of his defeat.

The English and Dutch retired to the mouth of the Thames, both to defend the city of London, and because in the mouth of that river they could better defend themselves against a force superior to their own.

A general consternation seized the nation upon this melancholy event; however, it tended to strengthen the hands of government, by uniting the different factions in the common cause of self-defence, and inflaming the aversion of the people to nonjurors and jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen, by the Cornish tinnerns, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen and lieutenancy of London, full of professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited wonderful proofs of courage, activity and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet; she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the states-general, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington, for his behaviour in the late action. He was

was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine into his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded the little village of Tinmouth. About one thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burnt a few coasting vessels; having achieved this magnanimous exploit; they reembarked, and returned to Brest.

This miscarriage of the combined fleet, joined to a victory which Louis had gained over the allies at Fleury, served to spirit up the Irish male-contents, and to retard the progress of William's arms, in that kingdom. An advantage, however, was soon after obtained, which did great honour to all concerned.

On the 21st of July, rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for Kinsale, to intercept some French frigates, that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford-river, with intention to execute this commission, he received the agreeable news of general Kirke's having made himself master of the town of Waterford; but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon castle, which by it's situation commanded the river, still held out; and that the general, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford, while the castle remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent the general word, on the 27th of July, that he was ready to assist him, by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron, under the protection of their guns.

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Accordingly

Accordingly the next day he sent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two small ships, to batter their castle; and under their fire, landed between six and seven hundred men; all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but when once general Bourk, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate; and marched out of the castle, with two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty.

King William in the mean time laid siege to Limerick. M. Boisseleau, the governor, defended the place with great spirit, in which he was well supported by the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield. The trenches were opened against the town on the 19th of August, and the siege carried on with vigour; nevertheless, the inclemency of the season, and the loss of one thousand two hundred men, who were slain in an unsuccessful assault on a counterescarp, obliged the king to raise the siege; and leaving the command of the army with count Solmes, he embarked on the fifth of September, and arrived the next day in King's road, near Bristol.

The triumph of the Irish was only momentary. On king William's return to England, a council was held on the affairs of Ireland, whose great cities, and most of its convenient ports, still adhered to the abdicated prince. The earl of Marlborough proposed to the board, a plan for its effectual reduction: he observed, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest; which removed all apprehensions of a descent upon England; he therefore proposed that
that

that five thousand troops should be forthwith embarked on board the fleet for Ireland. The king and council approved the measure, and the earl of Marlborough was invested with the command of the troops; at the same time orders were dispatched to the admirals to assemble the great ships at Chatham, and take on board the land-forces.

The city of Cork was a place of strength, from the works which had been lately erected under the direction of French engineers; and it was at that time defended by a garrison of four thousand men: Marlborough, however, whose penetrating eye could mark a defect which lay concealed from common observation, had discovered a station which rendered the works of little avail, he pledged himself to become master of that city, and of Kinsale, before winter, notwithstanding the season was so far advanced.

The admirals hoisted their flag on board the *Kent*, a third-rate, and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, appeared before Cork the 21st of September. Marlborough was joined by the duke of Wirtemberg, at the head of four thousand Danes; but that prince claimed an equality in command, although a younger officer in rank, and bringing with him only auxiliary forces, because he was a sovereign prince. The English general, with that politeness which was ever a strong feature in his character, acquiesced in this arrogant claim. It was agreed, that each should command every alternate day. Marlborough commanded first, when, to show his superiority over his rival, equally in politeness as in condescension, he gave out, for the word of the day, "*Wirtemberg*." The prince, highly gratified by this mark of respect, when he took the command, gave, for the word of the day, "*Marlborough*." This circumstance,

stance, in itself a trifle, cemented a union between the two commanders, and removed all rivalry, except that which arose from their endeavours, who should most contribute to the success of the enterprise. The fleet stormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded both the harbour and the town. From the station which lord Marlborough had remarked, the troops made a breach in the walls, when, being protected by the fire of the batteries, and two bomb vessels, they forded the river up to the arm-pits to mount the breach. When the soldiers were ready to assail the walls, the garrison surrendered at discretion, after the siege had continued only four days. In this attack the duke of Grafton, who commanded a detachment of the fleet, received a wound in the shoulder, of which he died a few days after. Captain Matthew Tenant, who succeeded him in the command, was blown up in the Breda, in Cork harbour; captain Crofts then took the command, which he retained throughout the expedition*. The day after the surrender of Cork, Marlborough sent brigadier Villers, with five hundred horse, to summon Kinsale. The governor hereupon set fire to the old town, and retired to the two forts. On the 30th of September the siege began. Two days after one of the forts was taken by storm. The governor was then again summoned to surrender: he replied, "It would be time enough to talk of that a month hence." On the 5th of October the trenches were opened, and in ten days the counterscarp being gained, every thing was adjusted for a general assault. To prevent which, the garrison, consisting of fifteen hundred men, capitulated, and were conducted to Limerick. The victorious general returned to Lon-

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 44.

don

don on the 28th of the same month. The nation received him with acclamations; and it was remarked, that an English officer had done more in a month, than all the foreign generals had achieved in two campaigns. Indeed, the earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumstances considered, was, beyond comparison, the most successful undertaking in the whole reign of king William; and the reduction of Cork was such an instance of penetration, as the king never forgot.

The king, as soon as he returned from Ireland, expressed great concern at the miscarriage of the grand fleet under Torrington. The honour of the nation had been thereby wounded, and a general clamour prevailed against the earl; and the queen had engaged her promise to the Dutch, that his conduct should undergo a strict enquiry. On the other hand, the earl had been very instrumental in bringing about the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had brought over many to believe, that instead of his being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of foreigners, merely for having preserved the English fleet. The king gave orders, that the admiral should be tried by a court-martial; but the friends of the earl maintained that he ought to be tried by his peers. It was objected, that as the office of lord high-admiral was vested by commission in the lords of the admiralty, he could be tried by a court-martial sitting under their authority; for though it was allowed, that the lord high-admiral of England might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned, whether any such authority was lodged in the commissioners of the admiralty; and although some great lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient, to settle

settle so important a point by authority of parliament.

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commissioners of the admiralty*; upon which a court-martial was appointed to try the earl of Torrington, who was, at that time, indisposed in the Tower. On the 10th of December the court assembled on board the Kent frigate at Sheerness; Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement, being president. Torrington's defence was animated, and strong suited to the pride of the man. He observed, that in the several councils of war held before the fight, not only himself, but all who were present, thought it unadvisable to engage the French. He descanted on the order given by the queen, which compelled him to fight, against the unanimous opinion of his officers, and without any probability of success. He laid great stress on the inequality of the confederate and French fleets; the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two, actually engaged. He asserted, that the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness; and that if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded, in the same manner as that division of it was. It having been insinuated, that he had failed in supporting the Dutch, to gratify a pique which he had against them, he dwelt with great energy on that charge, and pleaded, that his conduct had saved the English fleet; and that he hoped, an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentment. He reminded his judges of the wounds they had seen him receive: he pointed to the socket of the eye which he

* ad William and Mary, cap. 2.

had

had lost in the cause of his country. His lordship was unanimously acquitted by the court. The king however dismissed him his service, and would never again admit him to his presence. Yet, farther to express his disgust, he advanced admiral Russel, his rival and enemy, to the command of the fleet.

Two centuries had now elapsed since the restless spirit of the Europeans, not content with confining their fury within their own continent, had carried the desolations of war to the most distant countries. The French, in the province of Canada, growing troublesome to the English province of New-York, by endeavouring to draw to themselves the whole trade of peltry with the Indian nations; the government of New-York, in the year 1690, made an attempt on Quebec, the capital town of Canada, although distant from them near five hundred miles. For this purpose they proceeded up Hudson's river to Albany fort, (since become a considerable town) with three hundred English, and three hundred allied Iroquois Indians: the French governor opposed to these more than double their number of regular troops, besides Indians; yet the English defeated him, killed three hundred of his men, and drove him behind his fortifications; but being unprovided with artillery, and other requisites for reducing the French forts, a want which shows the injudicious manner in which the expedition was set on foot, they were obliged to return home without accomplishing the object of the expedition.

Much about the same time general Coddington, commander in chief of the English Leeward Islands, being assisted with troops from England, and collecting a considerable force from the islands, recovered the Island of St. Christopher's, which had

been taken by the French; from whence he conveyed the French inhabitants, which were very numerous, to Hispaniola and Martinico; he then retook St. Eustatia, which the French had wrested from the Dutch the year before. Besides these recaptures, he possessed himself of the Islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew; but he failed in his attempt upon Guadaloupe.

In short, the several American settlements seemed to vie with each other in their endeavours to check and crush the rising power of France in those regions. Sir William Phipps, with a fleet and land-forces from New-England, sailed for Nova-Scotia, and subdued the town and fort of Port-Royal, since named Anapolis-Royal, in the bay of Fundy, which had been so great an annoyance to the English commerce in America, by means of privateers that resorted thither, that it obtained the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. He also seized on and demolished a fort on St. John's river, and erected stronger forts in their stead. But these valuable acquisitions were unfortunately given up at the peace of Ryswick, which gave rise to future disputes and desolating wars.

During the two first years in which this war with France was carried on, England suffered greatly in her commerce; her trade being much greater, and more extensive than that of France, it became a prey to French privateers: insomuch, that by an account laid before parliament it appeared, that the French had, in two years, taken from England no fewer than three thousand sail of trading vessels, great and small; and within the same period, only sixty-seven merchant-ships had been taken from France. What may serve to account for this prodigious disproportion is, that the principal part of the commerce of France was, at this time, carried
on

on in foreign bottoms, and, until the breaking out of this war, by Dutch ships.

France however felt inconveniences of a different kind arise from this rupture. All commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms being thereby cut off, several very advantageous articles of French manufacture were totally ruined. Among these was a linen manufacture, of a species of cloth called dowlas and lockram, chiefly wrought in Normandy and Bretagne. Of these articles England is said to have consumed annually to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; but the English being unable to obtain them from the accustomed market, they suggested to the Hamburgers the attempting of a similar fabric, in which they succeeded so well, that the names of those French linens with us are now buried in oblivion*.

The English East-India Company, about this time, erected Fort-William at Calcutta, and which seems to have been the first place of strength which they provided in those parts. They had been long settled on the banks of the Ganges, in the kingdom of Bengal. Their first factory in that kingdom was at the town of Hugelley, on a river of the same name, which is a branch of the Ganges, one hundred and sixty miles from its mouth. The fort and garrison established at Calcutta was designed to afford protection to the company's vessels coming down that river from Patna, laden with piece-

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 198. A remarkable instance of French arrogance was given at this time, in the inscription at the stern of a French first-rate ship of war, named the St. Louis, viz.

*Je suis l'unique de l'Onde,
Et mon roy du Monde.*

Which may be thus translated;

"I, on the ocean, am the mightiest thing;
"As on the land is my all-potent king."

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goods,

goods, raw silk, and saltpetre, those being the principal staple commodities of Bengal. Soon after Calcutta had been made the mart of the English Bengal trade, the Dutch established themselves at Hugelley, where they built a noble fort and factory for the like trade, and also for Bengal stuffs, calicoes, cotton, and muslin, for the European markets; as also for opium, ginger, long pepper, tobacco, &c. for the country trade.—Such were the events which properly fall within the plan of this work to relate, that happened before the close of the year 1690.

William, having settled the affairs of the nation, determined to pass over into Holland; accordingly he set out for Margate on the 6th of January 1691; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind, and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the 16th of the same month he embarked at Gravesend, with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted his yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirk and Zuylestein. Instead of proceeding directly for shore, they lost sight of the fleet, and night coming on, they found themselves exposed, in very severe weather, to the danger of the enemy, as well as of the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which time the king, and all his attendants, were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the king asked them, if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the Isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in

in a fisherman's hut; then committing himself to the boat again, he was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Maeslandsluys; and in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-general, the States of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with great magnificence; and the Dutch welcomed his arrival among them with bonfires, illuminations, and every expression of joy. A solemn congress of the confederated princes was held, at which the king of England was the soul which animated that vast body. All the princes that were assembled, agreed to waive ceremony, and to live on the footing of equals. William, in this apparent equality, but real superiority, enjoyed a more heart-felt satisfaction than Louis XIV. in all his state and affectation of pre-eminence ever experienced.

The king opened the congress with one of the most animating speeches that modern ages has produced. "The States of Europe," he said, "had too long cherished a spirit of division, or of delay, and confined their views to particular interest. But while the dangers which threatened them from France reminded them of past errors, they pointed out also the necessity of amending them for the future. It was not now a time to deliberate but to act. Already the French king had made himself master of the chief fortresses around his kingdom, which were the only barriers to his ambition; and if not instantly opposed, he would soon seize the rest. All ought therefore to be convinced, that the particular interest of each was comprized in the general interest of the whole. The forces of the enemy were numerous, and they would bear down,
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like a torrent, whatever stood in their way. It was in vain to oppose complaints and unprofitable protestations against injustice. It was not the resolutions of diets, nor the faith of treaties, but strong armies, and firm union among the allies, that could stop the enemy in his course. With these they must now establish the liberties of Europe, which the tyranny of Louis aimed at subverting, or submit forever to the oppressor's yoke. For himself, he assured the assembled princes, he would neither spare his credit, his forces, nor his person; and would return, in the spring, at the head of his troops, to conquer or to perish with his allies."

The confederates resolved, at this congress, to bring into the field the ensuing campaign, an army of above two hundred thousand men, of which the emperor, Spain, Brandenburg, and England, were to furnish each twenty thousand; the Dutch thirty-five thousand; Savoy and Milan eighteen thousand; Bavaria eighteen thousand; Swabia and Franconia ten thousand; Wirtenburg six thousand; Liege six thousand; Munster seven thousand; and the princes of Lunenburg sixteen thousand*.

Great exertions were made to prepare a large fleet early in the spring, which, united with that of Holland, should be an overmatch for France. Early in May this fleet was ready to put to sea. The blue squadron was commanded by Henry Killgrew, Esq; as admiral; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Ruffel, in the *Britannia*, commanded the red squadron, having, for his vice and rear-admirals, Sir John Ashby and George Rooke, Esq. The force of this armament was as follows:

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 458.

Blue Squadron.	Guns.	Men.
2 First-rates	200	1600
6 Second-rates	570	3960
16 Third-rates	1090	7040
4 Fourth-rates	200	1000
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28	2060	13600
3 Frigates		
2 Hospital ships		
1 Yacht		
10 Fire-ships		
Red Squadron.	Guns.	Men.
3 First-rates	300	2400
5 Second-rates	470	3300
16 Third-rates	1090	7040
5 Fourth-rates	250	1250
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29	2110	13990
3 Frigates		
2 Hospital ships		
1 Yacht		
10 Fire-ships		

The Dutch were more tardy in furnishing their stipulated force, and when it arrived, it is said to have been far short of that which the States had engaged to furnish †; but the Dutch do not admit this charge, for by the list published by the authority of the government, the Rotterdam Squadron consisted of eleven ships, from eighty to fifty guns; the Amsterdam of sixteen, from ninety-two to fifty guns; North-Holland sent five, from eighty-six to fifty guns; Friesland six, from seventy to fifty-two

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. III. p. 49.

† Burchet's

guns;

guns; Zealand eight, from ninety-two to fifty guns. In all forty-six capital ships, carrying three thousand and two guns.

The tardiness of the French, however, in putting to sea, was greater than that of Holland: count Tourville, who had the chief command, did not sail from the harbour of Brest, until the middle of June. This officer was on board the Royal-Sun, the finest ship in France, which carried one hundred and four guns. The next to him in command was M. Chatteau Renault, in the Royal Dolphin of one hundred guns; and the third was the marquis d'Amfreville, in the Superbe of ninety-eight guns. The whole consisting of seventy-three capital ships, carrying one thousand five hundred and forty-four guns, and twenty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty men, together with twenty-one fire-ships*. The French admiral had orders to avoid an engagement, at the same time a squadron was sent under the command of the marquis de Nesmonde, to furnish James's army in Ireland with all sorts of supplies.

A very valuable fleet was now on their passage home from the Levant, in which the English and Dutch were jointly concerned, and the amount of it was estimated at four millions sterling. The safety of this fleet was a matter of the highest moment, and the danger to which it was exposed from the fleet of France, led administration to instruct admiral Russel to use his utmost care for its preservation. These orders he executed with equal ability and success. He sent off cruisers from his fleet in every direction, to bring him the earliest notice of its approach, while he proceeded with his whole force towards the south western coast of Ireland.

* Marquis de Quinsley.

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He fell in with these merchantmen off Kinsale, and having convoyed them into the Channel, he sailed with the combined fleet in search of the enemy, off Ushant, from thence he followed them to Belleisle, and proceeded eastward, along the French coast, but without meeting with them, and in the month of August he sailed into Plymouth. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was then dispatched to Brest, to look into that harbour, where he saw a fleet of merchantmen, consisting of forty sail, escorted by three men of war, coming out of port. He immediately had recourse to a stratagem, by which he hoped to draw the enemy within his reach. He was apprized that the French had received intelligence that some of their men of war had taken several English merchantmen, he therefore ordered part of his Squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. The enemy was at first deceived by this appearance, but the trick was discovered before they had approached near enough to be materially annoyed*.

On the 25th of August, the admiral received orders from the admiralty-board, directing him to put to sea immediately, and to station himself in the manner best suited to effect three grand objects; the first of which was, to meet with the grand fleet of France, if it should again come out, it having then sailed back into the port of Brest; the second, to secure the merchant-ships, which were to sail out of the Shannon for England; and the last, to prevent succours being conveyed from France into Ireland. He was farther directed, to keep such station so long as the ships of the first and second rates could safely keep the sea, and when the weather grew tempestuous, they were to proceed to Spit-head.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 442.

Pursuant to these orders, the admiral put to sea, and on the 31st of August, made the island of Ushant, braving the French in their own harbour. Had they been inclined to fight, they would have embraced this opportunity of doing it, for they might have had the weather-gage on their own coast; but they chose rather to remain safe in port, than hazard a battle even on such advantageous terms. On the second of September, our fleet was overtaken by a violent storm, which obliged the ships to bear away for the nearest port, which was that of Plymouth, a very dangerous port in such circumstances. The violence of the wind and the haziness of the weather was such, and the ships were so dispersed, that the greatest part of them were not to be seen, when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the Sound. The Coronation, a second rate, foundered off the Ram-head, and the Harwich, a third rate, ran ashore, and was bulged. Thus ended the fruitless transactions of our fleet during the year 1691: indeed a squadron of English and Dutch ships were formed, and ordered under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, to station between twenty and thirty leagues south-west of Cape Clear, but it was four times driven back by contrary winds, so that this expedition produced as little good as that of the grand fleet*.

The most important event of this year, was the entire reduction of Ireland. William had committed the forces in that kingdom to general Ginkell; with orders to make an end of the war at any rate; and to enable him to do this, his army was furnished with recruits and stores, and an unlimited pardon was tendered, to all who would ask the benefit of it. James had sent over St. Ruth,

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 652.

a French general, who had signalized himself in the wars against the protestants of France, and to him he gave the command of the Irish army; but he, being in want of money, stores and provisions, resolved on a war of defence; he reinforced the garrisons of the strong towns, situated on the Shannon, and encamped his army at Athlone.

Ginkell, having reduced Ballymore, advanced against the Irish army. Athlone consisted of two towns, one on the eastern, the other on the western shore of the Shannon. The town on the hither side of the river was taken sword in hand; and notwithstanding the enemy in their retreat had broke down an arch of the bridge, which rendered it impossible to pass over it to the opposite side, yet the river was forded at a little distance, although it was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion, erected for that purpose. Never was a more desperate service undertaken, nor was ever exploit performed with greater courage and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets and grenades. The Irish appalled by such boldness, quitted the town with the utmost precipitation; and in an hour after the first man had entered the river, the place was entirely evacuated, and in the possession of the English, who performed this desperate enterprize, with the loss of no more than fifty men.

St. Ruth was informed by express that the English had entered the river, but he treated it as a chimera, saying, it was impossible they should attempt to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt to force a passage. Being soon convinced of the truth of the information, he marched his army to the relief of the town, but

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the cannon of their own works being turned against them, the night following he struck his tents, and, marching ten miles, took post at Agrim, whither Ginkell soon followed him. The Irish army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, the English were no more than eighteen thousand. On the 12th of July a desperate engagement was fought, where, notwithstanding the superiority of the Irish, both as to ground and numbers, their general, St. Ruth, being killed with a cannon ball, the troops fled, and a dreadful carnage ensued, seven thousand being slain in the action and pursuit, whilst this decisive victory was obtained by the English, with the loss of only seven hundred men.

The remains of the routed army retired to Limerick, the only place of strength in the kingdom, which adhered to the cause of James. On the 25th of August, Ginkell sat down before the town. On the 4th of October following, the town capitulated. As it was the desire of government, to conciliate as much as possible the affections of the Irish, very advantageous conditions were granted them. A general pardon was extended to all the Irish then in Ireland, who had taken up arms in the cause of James, their estates and effects were restored to them, and their attainders and outlawries reversed; and all such as chose to quit their country and retire to France, were freely permitted to do it, and themselves and their effects conveyed thither, at the expence of the English government. No less than fourteen thousand Irish are said to have embraced this opportunity, quitting, with a savage fury and joy, their native land, and consenting to become, for ever, the subjects of a foreign power. Such was the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics consider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties,

berties. A few days after the capitulation, a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with thirty thousand arms, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition, arrived upon the coast, to the great mortification of the vanquished Irish, who would have been enabled, by such assistance, to have protracted the war at least through another summer.

Baron Ginkell on his return to England, received the thanks of the house of commons for his great services, and was created lord Agrim and earl of Athlone, in commemoration of his services, and of the places in which he had performed them. The capitulation of Limerick put an end to the Irish war, and made king William, at length, master of his three kingdoms.

While these decisive events passed in Ireland, Louis XIV. acted on the defensive; and no action of great moment happened between the confederates and the French. William forced marshal Boufflers to raise the siege of Liege, and on the other hand, when he quitted his army at the end of the campaign, the French defeated one part of it, on its march to Cambren; but retired when they saw the other part come up to dispute the victory.

The year 1692 was signalized by some very important events. The reduction of Ireland made the French sensible, though too late, of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, which had long kept alive their favourite schemes of anarchy and contention. During the last summer, instead of annoying others, as they were accustomed to do, they had been obliged to act merely on the defensive, both by sea and land. The French saw William relieved from the impediments, which the civil war of Ireland had thrown on his continental engagements, and the parliament had voted him
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large supplies, to enable him to prosecute the war with vigour, and particularly to make France and all Europe sensible, that the maritime powers were still lords of the sea, by fitting out early such a fleet as should keep their enemies in awe, while a descent was made on the coast of Normandy, which invasion the king in his speech to his parliament glanced at. The consideration of the intrinsic weight of England in the scale of Europe, and of the dignity which the rank of king bestowed on the prince of Orange, all concurred to convince Louis XIV. that he could not venture too much upon the chance of dethroning king William; and led him to resolve to make one great effort for an invasion of England, in favour of James. Nor were there wanting favourable circumstances to encourage such an attempt. Dissatisfactions were visible in all parts of the three kingdoms, and to such as live under governments, where freedom of speech is prohibited, the clamours of a few factious spirits are considered as expressive of the sentiments of the people at large. Many officers in the army were disgusted, because they thought their services overlooked and unrewarded: in the fleet, many of the officers and seamen indulged a partial fondness for their former superintendant, and who, whilst in that situation, had affected to be called "the seaman's friend." Those among the Irish that had supported the principles of the revolution, had taken great offence at the concessions which had been made in favour of the vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine, by the treaty of Limerick. They complained, that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses; while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the
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the articles of capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. The Scotch were not in a better humour, on account of an act of great severity which had been exercised upon a disaffected clan at Glenco. In England the people grew weary of a continental war, which had been carried on at a vast expence; to provide money for which, heavy taxes had been imposed; and these new imposts were rendered perpetual, by large sums having been borrowed on the security of the yearly produce of these taxes. Although the liberty of England depended eventually on the reduction of the power of the French monarch, yet as the English saw not his dragoons at their doors, they believed themselves exempted from the influence of his power. Such were the discontents which had seized the three kingdoms; nor was there more unanimity and cordiality among those who composed the administration. Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough, from different causes, had become disgusted with the king. The latter of these had been deprived of his employments soon after he had done the kingdom such signal service in the reduction of Cork and Kinsale. This displeasure of his prince he was supposed to have incurred from the intrigues and cabals which his wife carried on, who being the favourite and confidant of the princess Anne, had fomented a bitter enmity between that lady and the queen her sister. Admiral Russel was, about the same time, drawn into the cabal, though he seems at no time cordially to have adopted the scheme; the princess Anne, at length, joined herself to the disaffected party. A large fleet, which was to consist of seventy-five ships of the line, was to sail from France, to countenance and support the malecontents in England, and bring over the excluded monarch.

When

When the preparations in France were in great forwardness, James published a declaration, which he found means to have very generally dispersed over the three kingdoms, in which he promised that he would, in case he was restored to his throne, confer all ecclesiastical preferments on members of the church of England solely; but with respect to the assurances he gave for securing the liberties of the nation, his expressions, though plausible, were vague and indefinite. With a view to entice all men by hopes of impunity, the declaration contained a general pardon, with very few exceptions. Lord Marlborough was, at his own desire, together with the duke of Ormond, excepted from the pardon, the more effectually to conceal their secret connections. But the lords Godolphin, Halifax, Shrewsbury, and admiral Russel, took not the same precautions, because they had not the same depth of dissimulation*.

These designs were not long unknown to king William, and immediately every step was taken to oppose and counteract them. The naval force of England and of Holland was collected in their respective ports, and cruisers sent out to observe every motion made in those of France. All the ships at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones, of the largest size, were built, and with so much dispatch, that one of them, of one hundred and six guns, went to sea the tenth day after she was launched†. The command of both navies was committed to admiral Russel.

Thus, during the spring, the three greatest maritime powers of the world exerted every nerve of naval strength, and the rest of Europe stood amazed, and anxiously expected the event of an expedition,

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 495.

† Gazette, April 23.

which

which probably would determine, in whose hands the dominion of the sea should be afterwards lodged.

Several English regiments were recalled from Flanders, whilst others, that had been ordered there, were stopped on their march. The militia was raised all over the kingdom; many suspected persons were secured, proclamations issued against others, and all papists removed ten miles from London; a camp was marked out between Petersfield and Portsmouth: orders were given to drive the cattle fifteen miles up the country, upon the sight of a French fleet: Scotland was put into the best state of defence. Ireland alone was left to its fate, because it was not thought advisable to take any steps for disarming the natives, or give any other signs of doubt about their loyalty.

The conduct of Russel in this season of intrigue, was full of duplicity; nor can it be settled, even at this distance of time, whether he really entered into the views of James, or, by pretending an attachment to him, meant the more effectually to serve the reigning prince, by disclosing the designs that were forming against him; or that, by keeping fair with both parties, he meant to serve himself, whichever should be successful. In the correspondence which he held with James, he entreated him to prevent the two fleets of England and France from meeting, and frankly declared, that as an officer, and an Englishman, it behoved him to fire upon the first French ship that came in his way, even though he should see that prince himself upon the quarter deck.

One circumstance is extremely remarkable in the transactions which we are now relating, which is, that whilst James distrusted the sincerity of the men on whose assurances he proceeded, William em-

ployed some, of whose insincerity he had intelligence. That the king had very good intelligence of his father-in-law's affairs is plain, from his behaviour to lord Godolphin, after the designs of France had been frustrated. He upbraided that nobleman with corresponding with the late king; who peremptorily denied it: the king thereupon put a letter into his hand which Godolphin had written to James, and which had been stolen from that prince's cabinet; desiring him, at the same time, to reflect upon the treachery of those in whom he confided, and the moderation of him he meant to betray. This generous conduct ought to have attached the minister ever after to his master. Although Marlborough, who had been before dismissed from his employments, was, about this time, sent to the Tower, yet, not long after, he was restored to his posts, and entrusted with very important services. There is great reason to believe that rear-admiral Carter received private orders from the queen to cultivate his connections with James, in order to discover the designs of that prince, and by betraying, to disconcert them*.

Louis, elated with the dissensions which prevailed in England, and which were represented to him as far more favourable to his designs than they really were, sent orders to count Tourville, who had the command of the grand fleet at Brest, to sail immediately, before he was joined by the Toulon squadron, under count d'Estree, and fight the English fleet, in order to clear the way for the transports which were to follow him. There were then two considerable English squadrons at sea; one under the command of Sir Ralph Delaval, who was employed to escort a fleet of merchantmen home

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 500.

from



RUSSEL Earl of **ORFORD**
ADM.^t of the BLUE &c. died 1727, aged 75.

from the Mediterranean; the other under rear-admiral Carter, which lay between the Isle of Jersey and the French coast. The Dutch fleet was still in harbour, and Ruffel, with the great body of the English fleet, still lay in the river. Tourville made repeated efforts to sail out of Brest, but was as often driven back. Ruffel was indefatigable in forming a junction of the whole strength of both States. He therefore plyed it down through the sands with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet, to this bold stroke of the admiral, was owing all his following success. On the 8th of May the fleet anchored safe off Rye; proceeding from thence to St. Helens, he was there joined, on the 13th, by Sir Ralph Delaval and rear-admiral Carter, and their squadrons. The Dutch fleet coming up soon after, the important junction was happily effected, whereupon James's agents in England sent notice of this event to the French court, and orders were dispatched from Paris to countermand Tourville's sailing. But these orders came too late, the fleet had already quitted the harbour, and were stretched out to sea.

The combined fleets of England and Holland formed a naval force greater than had ever covered the ocean; but it was much suspected in England, that several of the officers were disaffected, and meant to betray the cause which they professed to defend. The queen, who was then regent, directed lord Nottingham to write to the admiral to assure him, that the queen would change none of her officers, and that she imputed the reports that had been raised against them, to the contrivance of her enemies, and of theirs. Upon this the flag officers and captains signed a very dutiful and loyal

address, dated from on board the *Britannia* at St. Helens, May 15, which was presented by the lords of the admiralty to the queen, and inserted in the *Gazette*, with this judicious and gracious answer. "I always had such an opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come to satisfy others*." The queen took another prudent step: instead of prohibiting James's declaration being read, she ordered it to be published, with an answer to it, which was drawn up by Lloyd, one of the seven bishops that had been sent to the Tower; thereby submitting her title to the reason of her subjects, instead of appearing averse to having the point canvassed.

On the 18th of May the combined fleets sailed. The French fleet, of about fifty ships of the line, was at that time at sea in quest of the English, and was descried next day, at three o'clock in the morning, about seven leagues from Barfleur. As the French were many leagues to the windward, they might easily have avoided an engagement; and all the flag-officers advised Tourville to retire: but he rushed on. Russel's motions filled him for some time with hopes: for Russel's fleet was not in order until eight o'clock; he lay by with his fore top-sail to the mast until twelve o'clock, and allowed the enemy to come within half a musket-shot of him, before he flung out the bloody flag. During this interval, the bold advance of Tourville, with so unequal a force, together with the tardiness of Russel, raised doubts and anxieties in many of the English captains: they looked around, to see when their own officers were to rise up against them, or when the ships next to theirs were to quit the line, and sail over to their enemies.

* *Gazette*, No. 2767.

Tourville,

Tourville, who was in the *Royal Sun*, carrying one hundred and four guns, the finest ship in Europe, passing all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out *Russel*, and bore down upon him. But, by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking, that an English admiral could, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one. Yet, though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was ashamed to abandon a situation, which his officers had in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals, and the captains, disdaining to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The engagement between the two admirals ships lasted an hour and an half, and then Tourville was towed off, being obliged to retire by the damage which he had sustained in his rigging; but five French ships instantly closed in, and saved him. The battle, in the mean time, went on, in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and, at other times, snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Alemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey; and a thick fog, at four o'clock in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours the fog cleared up. It was then observed, that Tourville, instead of repairing his rigging, had withdrawn to the rear, and that the French line was broke in many other places. *Russel*, certain that Tourville would not have retired, unless it had been resolved that his fleet was to fly, made

made a signal to chace from all quarters, without any regard to order. In one of the engagements during this chace, rear-admiral Carter was killed, giving orders, with his last breath, to the officer next in command, to fight the ship as long as she could swim: a proof either that his correspondence with James had been maintained with a view to deceive him, or that the last passion in an Englishman's breast is the love of his country. The running engagement of the afternoon was, like the regular one of the forenoon, interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by a calm, and in the end it was closed by darkness.

During the night, the two fleets off the shallow coast of France anchored close to each other; yet the impetuosity of some English officers carried their ships through the French fleet, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his division, had got between Tourville's Squadron, and the rest of the French fleet: so that the ships of the three nations lay intermingled with each other during the night, waiting for the morning with impatience, uncertain whether they were amongst friends or foes, and judging of their distances from other ships, only by the signals of distress which they heard, or the flames of the ships which were on fire.

The arrival of the morning brought a renewal of the chace. But the French fleet was now reduced to thirty-four ships; four of which had taken fire in the engagement, being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized by no engagement, but by a spectacle far more important, that of the English fleet driving the French one, along their own coasts, and in the sight of innumerable crouds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French, in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of sixteen ships, which
were

were coming to join them *: but these ships, perceiving the fate of their friends, turned to flight, and shared in that disgrace which they could not avert. Fogs, calms, tides, and the veering of winds, saved France from the vengeance of England and Holland for one day.

Upon the third day, Tourville's ship, the *Royal Sun*, with his two seconds, one of ninety, and the other of eighty-four guns, together with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast, near Cherburg, and eighteen more of the largest ships followed their example, near La Hogue; the rest being more fortunate, drove through the race of Alderney. Ruffel ordered the main body of the fleet, under Sir John Ashby, to pursue that of the enemy; left Sir Ralph Delavalle, with one squadron, to destroy the ships at Cherburg; and stationed himself, with another, to confine those which were at La Hogue. As the art of sailing was not so much improved then, as it has been since, Ashby durst not pursue enemies who pointed him the way through a passage, which † another admiral, with a squadron, and a great fleet of transports, went through, in our time, with ease, and without the flying sails of an enemy to direct him. But Delavalle, next day, burnt the three ships, together with the frigates, at Cherburg.

And now, upon the fifth day, some of Delavalle's ships having advanced, and some of Ashby's having returned to join Ruffel's squadron, Ruffel made preparations to destroy the enemy's ships at La Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having, the day before, in the hurry and confusion, made their escape eastward. The French had em-

* Gazette, 23d of May, 1692. † Commodore Howe, (now lord Howe) when convoying the troops commanded by the duke of Marlborough, in the expedition against St. Maloes, June 1758.

ployed

ployed all the interval of time, which Ruffel had left them since their ships had taken refuge, in making provisions to defend them. The ships themselves were drawn up as far upon the shallows, as tides and cables could bring them: they were covered with the forts De Liffet and De La Hogue; platforms were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army; numbers of chaloups, filled with officers and men, lined the shoals; behind stood all the French army ready drawn up; and, upon a height between the ships and the army, king James, the duke of Berwick, marischal Bellefonde, Tourville, and other great land and sea-officers, placed themselves to behold the action, and to give their orders. All precautions were taken, except one which James had suggested, and which was the best: for when he saw the French seamen disheartened by defeat, flight, pursuit, and the necessity of taking refuge, he foretold, that no good could be expected from them; and advised, but in vain, that a number of the regiments, and of the artillery-men, should be put on board the ships, where they could fight with the same steadiness, as if they had been in land-castles, because the ships were aground.

Ruffel gave the charge of the attack to vice-admiral Rooke; who advanced with several men of war, frigates, and fire-ships, together with all the boats of the fleet. But he soon found, that the men of war could not get within reach; that the frigates could only advance so far as to cover the attack; and that the whole service depended upon the boats. In this situation he gave only a general order for the boats to advance, surround the enemy's ships, and board or burn where they best could; leaving all the rest to the spirit of the seamen. The seamen strove with each other, whose barge should be

be foremost, and singled out the particular ships they were to attack, according to their fancy, and sometimes as a merry mood directed them. They made use of their oars alone as they advanced, without firing upon the platforms, the chaloups, or the vessels aground : so soon as they got to the sides of the ships, throwing away their musquets, they gave three huzzas, and scrambled up the heights above them, with their cutlasses in their hands, and many without any arms at all. Some cut the rigging ; others set fire to the vessel ; others pointed the guns of the ships against their own chaloups, platforms, and forts. Few assaulted the mariners within, because they accounted the ships to be their only foes. From this circumstance, the French mariners often went off undisturbed in their boats, from one side of a French ship, while the English had entered, and were destroying it upon the other. But at last, tired with doing mischief in detail, the assailants all joined together to burn the enemies ships ; and having set fire to them, descended, with the same huzzas with which they had boarded. In this way they burnt six the first day. The rest, together with a great number of transports ; and ammunition ships, shared the same fate the next morning ; the enemies making little resistance, because they saw it was fruitless. Few prisoners were taken ; for the officers were possessed with the idea of the seamen, that the destruction of the ships was their only object ; and some of them even made apologies to government * for having incumbered themselves with prisoners.

Russel ordered solemn prayers, and a thanksgiving through all his fleet, for the victory. In England, a present of thirty thousand pounds was given by

* Sir Ralph Delaval's letter in Gazette, May 23.

the queen to the seamen, and public funerals were bestowed on those officers whose bodies were brought on shore, particularly rear-admiral Carter, and captain Hastings, of the Sandwich. In France, James slowly and sadly returned to bury the remembrance of his greatness in the convent of La-Trappe. All his attempts, and those of his family afterwards, to recover the throne of their ancestors, were either disappointed by the insincerity of French friendship, or were the mere efforts of despair*.

The force of the respective fleets, in this most important action, was as follows :

The RED SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
5 First	3835	500
3 Second	1800	270
16 Third	6400	1100
7 Fourth	1860	350
<hr/>		<hr/>
31	13895	2220

The Right Hon. Edward Russel, Esq. admiral.

Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral.

The BLUE SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 First	780	100
7 Second	4655	636
18 Third	7740	1270
6 Fourth	1500	304
<hr/>		<hr/>
32	14675	2310

Sir John Ashby, admiral.

George Rooke, Esq. vice-admiral.

Richard Carter, Esq. rear-admiral.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 503, & seq.

The

The DUTCH SQUADRON.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
9 First	4515	796
10 Second	3766	772
9 Third	2925	640
8 Fourth	1845	406
<hr/> 36	<hr/> 13051	<hr/> 2614

Admiral Allemonde.

Vice-admiral Schoutby Nacht.

The FRENCH FLEET.

The V A N.	Guns.
26 Ships, from 90 to 60 guns —	1884

The C E N T R E.

25 Ships, from 104 to 54 guns —	1826
And 8 fire-ships.	

The R E A R.

12 Ships, from 94 to 54 guns —	774
	<hr/> 4484

Admiral Russel had therefore 99 ships of the line under his command, and count Tourville but 63, many of which were detached at the time of the action; so that not more than 44 are supposed to have borne down to engage.

Although the confederate fleet was considerably stronger than the French, yet the latter were, in fact, beaten by an inferior number; for the calm, and haziness of the weather, prevented many of the Dutch ships, and of the blue squadron, from taking a part in the action: so that it is highly probable, if the weather had been clear, and a brisk gale of

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wind had blown, not one French ship would have escaped. As it was, the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. Besides the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French lost another ship of one hundred guns; one of ninety, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, seventy-six, or seventy-eight; four of sixty, one of fifty-four, and one of fifty-eight: in all, fifteen ships of the line. If, after all, Sir John Ashby could have reached those that took shelter in St. Maloes, it would have been a great addition to the glory of the enterprise.

When the destruction of the French men of war at La Hogue was fully accomplished, and the rest of the fleet had escaped either to the eastward or the westward, admiral Russel brought the grand fleet back to St. Helens, to repair the damage it had sustained; but, at the same time, he left Sir John Ashby, with twelve English ships of war, and three fire-ships, in conjunction with a Dutch Squadron of like force, commanded by vice-admiral Callemberg, to proceed to Havre-de-Grace, and attempt the destruction of such French ships as had taken shelter there. But they found them too well secured to give them any annoyance; and such tempestuous weather presently succeeded the action, as disabled the ships from undertaking any thing*. The motive for Russel's immediate return into port was, to furnish the fleet with fresh supplies of ammunition and provision, and to take on board a number of troops which had been marched down to the sea-shore, in order to make a descent on the coast of France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. Soon after his

* Barchet's Naval History, p. 469, 470.

return

return he was informed, by a letter from the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, that no plan was absolutely formed for the destination of the troops, but that it was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea-officers, when the fleet and the transports should be joined. The reason of which, according to Dr. Campbell, was, that the ministers were unwilling to take upon themselves the direction of an expedition, which they were apprehensive would miscarry, but were willing to refer it to the land and sea-officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever might happen *. A council of land and sea-officers being held on board the Breda, to deliberate on this design, it was unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Notwithstanding, the admiral detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, while he himself set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports; but in a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helens.

The queen hereupon sent the marquis of Carmarthen, lord-president of the council, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to enquire into the cause of their return, and to expedite another embarkation. The admiral clearly proved the impracticability of making a descent on the coast of France at that season of the year; the design therefore was laid aside, and the troops were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. The people complained that they were plundered and abused.

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 76.

The Dutch scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm, that every thing that was transacted at London, was so speedily communicated to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. Some politicians indeed, thought they saw the intention of the armament fully answered; and that king William only meant thereby to alarm the French, and oblige them to keep great bodies of men constantly along their coasts, and to be at a vast expence in watching the motions of this small body of troops, thereby reducing the force which they employed in Flanders.

Another cause of national discontent proceeded from the numerous captures which were made of the English merchant-ships by French privateers; and what tended much to aggravate these losses, the trade had suffered much more after the defeat of the French fleet off La Hogue, than when they were rivals on the ocean; which arose from the seamen being dismissed the king's service, and serving on board privateers, which being dispersed over different parts of the Channel, made prize of whatever merchantmen came in their way. At the same time the grand fleet of England being collected together, the admiralty were not able to send out frigates to cruise at proper stations, for the protection of trade, or to provide it with proper convoys.

The most important events on the Continent, during the campaign of 1692, was the siege of Namur, which Louis made himself master of*, notwithstanding king William was at the head of an army, nearly equal in number to that of France, and within cannon-shot of the besiegers. This signal success of the French army was owing to the

* June, 1692.

masterly

masterly dispositions of the marshal duke of Luxemburg, who commanded. Soon after was fought the battle of Steenkirk, in which the English troops acquired great honour by their intrepid bravery, but being ill supported, were at length obliged to give way. Though the French reaped no solid advantage from this victory, yet it excited a tumultuous joy in Paris. All the fashionable ornaments of both sexes received the name of Steenkirks; all the new trinkets were made *a la Steenkerque*; and every individual, who had been personally engaged in the action, was received every where with the highest marks of favour*.

William, though frequently unsuccessful, had a genius so fruitful in resources, that he often drew more advantage from a defeat, than the French did from their victories. The French ministry however did not entirely depend on the fortune of war for the execution of their revenge against king William; they likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. One Dumont undertook to perpetrate this act of baseness. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, encouraged the scheme. Nor were these attempts entirely disagreeable to the temper of James, who is charged with having approved the undertaking. The assassin, to accomplish his design, insisted in the confederate army, in order to shoot the king of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while a party of horse from the French camp was to rush forward to the rescue of Dumont, as soon as he had effected his purpose. This man was sufficiently abandoned to form such a scheme, but wanted that consummate degree of villany which was necessary

* Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. Vol. I. p. 220.

to execute it; he was betrayed by his own fears, and having confessed his guilt, suffered death as a traitor.

About this time the duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend with the troops that had embarked at St. Helens. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of general Tollemache; he took possession of Furnes, was joined by the earl of Portland and Mr. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Donkirk; but, on farther deliberation, the enterprize was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by brigadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured with strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops returning to Ostend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation*.

King William returned to England on the 18th of October, and on the 4th of November opened the sessions of parliament, by a speech, in which he took notice of the signal victory obtained over the French at sea, and lamented the subsequent disappointments, as well as the bad success of the campaign by land. Neither the house of peers, nor the house of commons, assembled in a good humour; however, one of the earliest proceedings of the latter was, to pass a vote of thanks to admiral Ruffel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained. They then proceeded to enquire why that victory had not been pursued? why the descent had not been made? and why the trade had

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. VIII. p: 457.

not been better protected from the enemies' cruisers. The admiral having exculpated himself, they petitioned the king, to give directions; for the lords of the admiralty, to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral; they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers, and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring, that twenty days had elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman, and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there were a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even re-terminated upon Russel, so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed, that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one badge of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed; the house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. When Sir John Ashby was examined, as to his failure in executing the orders which he received to destroy the French ships which got into St. Maloes. On this head Sir John vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the house, and sat the whole matter to rest. At a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at the bar, and he was dismissed from further attendance. Then the lords resolved to enquire into the miscarriage of the proposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair; but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to

screen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge, and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference, by the lord-president, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, that they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: that finding Mr. Russel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, that admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, irritated at this resolution, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both houses, in which the earl of Rochester told the commons, he was commanded by the house of lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the lower house in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purpose was delivered to Colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the commons,

mons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the enquiry was discontinued.

The lower house seemed to be as much exasperated against the earl of Nottingham, as the lords were incensed at Ruffel. A motion was made, that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty, as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was overruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet, might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest, by implication, against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house: they resolved, that a rate of four shillings in the pound for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military officers in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution, empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They farther enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities; they laid several new duties on a variety of imposts: they renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it did not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer; they continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East-India goods for four years: they laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East-India Company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent.

on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds; which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour.

No sooner were the supplies voted, than every exertion was made to prepare a formidable fleet early in the season. In the month of January admiral Russel was divested of his command; but to qualify this step, he was appointed treasurer of the household. This plainly evinced the triumph of the secretary, Nottingham, over the commander in chief. The command of the fleet was vested in the hands of the admirals Killegrew, Delavalle, and Shovel. Rooke was created vice-admiral of the red, and Aylmer rear-admiral of the same division; Lord Berkley was vice-admiral of the blue, and Mitchell his rear-admiral. The king, to conciliate the affections of the officers and seamen, went down to Portsmouth, where he carefully inspected, not only the fortifications of the place, but the condition of the ships which lay there. Whilst on board admiral Rooke's ship, he conferred the honour of knighthood on that officer. Leaving the queen regent during his absence, he soon after embarked for Flanders.

The first object with the combined fleets of England and Holland, was to block up the French in their ports, particularly in Brest, and thereby remove the annoyance which the commerce of both countries had suffered from the privateers of France; but a fatal incapacity, or rather a destructive spirit of disaffection, pervaded the operations of the council, and of the admiralty-board. It is even said, that Killegrew and Delaval were too much in the interest of James, to give an energy to the operations

rations at sea *; and Shovel, though well affected to the government, could not act in opposition to his two colleagues.

Such were the delays in getting to sea, that the French navy had sailed from their harbours before the English had quitted theirs; so that the measures which had been planned were entirely frustrated. It was not until the middle of May, that the English fleet assembled at St. Helens, and took on board five regiments, which were intended for a descent in France. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, they composed a fleet of eighty-three ships of the line; of which fifty-one ships were furnished by England, but these were feebly manned, and ill provided with necessaries and provisions; the States sent out thirty-two ships of the line †.

The French had made vast preparations in all their ports, and had laboured, by well-directed efforts, to repair the damage which their navy had sustained: they bought and armed all the large merchantmen in every port in the kingdom, thereby converting them into ships of war. An embargo was laid on all the shipping in France, until the royal fleet was manned. To animate the officers and seamen, Louis made a grand naval promotion; and the whole naval force of France consisted of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships; and tenders. Whilst it was generally believed, that with this force the French king meditated some fresh attempt to restore the exiled monarch, his views were really directed to intercept a very valuable fleet of merchantmen, bound from the ports of England and Holland for the Levant. Four hundred ships, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, bound for the Straits,

* Burnet's own Times. Vol. III. p. 89.

† Campbell's Lives of the Admirals,

lay waiting for a convoy in May. On the 19th of that month, orders were sent from the Admiralty, for the whole grand fleet to convoy those ships as far as might be found requisite. The three admirals had agreed, that Sir George Rooke should command a squadron of twenty-three men of war, English and Dutch, to escort the trade through the Straits, and along the Mediterranean, after the main fleet should leave it.

Though the ministry had received no certain intelligence concerning the motions of the French, the fleet under count Tourville had actually sailed from Brest the 16th of May. It proceeded towards the Straits to join the squadron expected from Toulon, under D'Estrees. On the 28th of the same month, this armament put into Lagos' Bay. Whilst it lay there, Rooke, with his squadron, and the fleet under his convoy, appeared, the grand fleet having shamefully left him, and the wealth which he escorted, on the 6th of June, about fifty leagues W. S. W. of Ushant, to fall a prey to the superior strength of France. Rooke, deceived by false intelligence of the strength of the enemy, prepared to engage, but soon perceiving his mistake, he stood out to sea; at the same time sending orders to the merchantmen that were near shore, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy's fleet, having on board their admiral and vice-admiral, came up with two of the sternmost ships, which were Dutch men of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander Poel; who finding themselves under the wind, and thereby cut off from all escape, tacked in for the shore, and thus, by dividing the attention of the enemy, gave many ships an opportunity of escaping. The Dutch captains, when attacked, made a
most

most desperate defence, but were at last overpowered by numbers and taken. An English ship of war, and a rich pinnace, were burnt, twenty-nine merchant ships were taken, and about fifty destroyed; the value of which was estimated at a million sterling. The escape of the rest of the fleet was owing to the injudicious conduct of Tourville, who might have surrounded and taken the whole.

Rooke having called a council of war, found his officers divided in their opinions, some proposed that he should bear away for Ireland, and others, that he should attempt to make the harbour of Lisbon. The admiral, however, overruled these measures, and determined to proceed to the Madeiras, where he safely arrived; and having there taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and arrived at Cork on the 3d day of August; with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. The Dutch, although very great sufferers by this fatal blow, in the account which they published of their loss, acknowledge, that it would have been much greater but for the conduct of Sir George Rooke, on whom they bestow warm praises. Tourville, instead of pursuing Rooke, attacked some of the Spanish ports where the ships had retired. On the 20th of July, he appeared before Malaga, threatening to bombard the town, if the governor protected the English and Dutch vessels which lay in the harbour. The Spaniards not being intimidated by this threat, Tourville attacked the ships which lay in the mole with great fury. The seamen on board them made a long and gallant defence. The French twice attempted to burn the Union frigate, but were bravely repulsed. The superiority of numbers at length prevailed, so that the masters of the vessels were obliged to sink them to prevent their falling into the hands
of

of the enemy. A detachment of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, were then sent to Cadiz, where, however, they effected very little. At Gibraltar, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a Dutch man of war.

Soon after Rooke had arrived at Cork, he received orders from the three commanding admirals, to send six of the largest ships, to the fleet which then lay near the Scilly Isles, and to station the rest at Kinsale. On the 16th day of August he joined the main fleet, having very fortunately fallen in with fifty sail of victuallers, which were sent out freighted with provisions for the fleets; but tempestuous weather having driven them off their station, these vessels had missed them. The admirals having cruised for a few weeks in the mouth of the channel, on the 25th of August returned to St. Helens, where the regiments were debarked that had been on board all the summer, without attempting anything. On the 29th day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland, and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter. The naval operations were then supposed to be closed for that year, but it soon appeared that there was yet a serious expedition to be undertaken, in order, if possible, to allay in some measure that national ferment which such severe losses and miscarriages had excited.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ships, whereby bombs may be thrown from a moving vessel, with as much certainty as from the solid ground, is an invention claimed by France, and was now about to be employed in annoying the inventor. On the 13th day of November, Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve men

men of war, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines and well-boats, put to sea, and proceeded to St. Maloes. They anchored at Quince-fort, when three of the bomb vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in and anchored within half a mile of the town. For thirteen days they threw bombs into the town, and landing on an island near the town, they burnt a convent there. On the 19th they took the opportunity which a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide afforded, to send in an extraordinary fire-ship, of about three hundred tons burden, which was styled the infernal, and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes. This dreadful machine, calculated to give additional force to the horrors of war, struck upon a rock, within pistol shot of the place where it was intended to moor her; the engineer was therefore obliged to set her on fire and retreat. She continued burning for some time, but at length blew up, with an explosion that was terrible beyond description. The whole town shook as if moved by an earthquake; three hundred houses were unroofed by it at the same instant of time: for three leagues round, no glass nor other brittle substance could withstand the shock. The capston of the vessel which dealt this desolation, and which weighed two hundred pounds, was carried by the force of the powder over the walls, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground. The walls towards the sea were in general thrown down. The wretched inhabitants, with all their senses assailed by terrors; the ground shaking under them; their houses dismantled, and threatening to crush them in their ruins; their ears, deafened with the horrid din that burst forth at the same instant, felt all the agonies of fear, insomuch as to be totally incapable of taking arms and defending themselves, so that th

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would have fallen an easy prey to a small number of troops; but no soldiers had been embarked for the expedition. The sailors, however, although unsupported, took and demolished Quince-fort. The place had greatly annoyed England, by fitting out great numbers of privateers, which were hereby destroyed, and ample revenge taken of the plunderers*.

Although the affair at St. Maloes had spread consternation through the maritime parts of France, it was not effectual to quell the discontents which predominated in England. The nation loudly complained, that those who were entrusted with the secrets of the cabinet betrayed their trust, and that the naval force of the nation, which, if properly exerted, was sufficient to maintain its preeminence at sea, was debilitated by the mismanagement and treachery of those who ought to give efficacy to its operations.

The battle of Landon †, in which Luxembourg defeated the allies, was the chief event on the Continent during the campaign of 1693. In this action the duke of Berwick, the natural son of James, by the earl of Marlborough's sister, was

* The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines, styled *Infernaux*, which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the prince of Parma besieged Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive, by the following description, that it was in fact a fire-ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. At the bottom of the hold were a hundred barrels of powder; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots; over which lay beams, bored through to give air to the fire; and upon these lay three hundred carcasses filled with grenades, chain-shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapt in linen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass bottles. There were six holes, or mouths, to let out the flames, which were so vehement, as to consume the hardest substances; and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this vessel, was blown up in her, because they found the body of a man, well dressed, upon the shore, and in his pocket-book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the vessels.—*Campbell*. † July 29, 1693.

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taken prisoner by his uncle, brigadier Churchill; Ginkell, earl of Athlone, was in imminent danger of losing his life; and general Tollemache brought off the greater part of the English infantry with remarkable gallantry and conduct. King William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person, both on horseback and on foot, where the danger was most threatening; his peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf, were penetrated by three different musket bullets; and he saw numbers fall beside him. Even the enemy bore witness to his undaunted courage; the prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he saw the prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour well deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his dispositions and manœuvres were severely censured. Luxembourg, after he had minutely examined the situation of the confederates before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe, Waldeck is really dead." Alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment.

All these victories procured glory to France, but little advantage. The allies were not yet effectually worsted. King William always made excellent retreats; and about a fortnight after one battle, another should have followed, in order to determine who should keep the field. The cathedral of Paris was hung round with colours that had been taken during the war; this led the prince of Conti to call Luxembourg *The Upholsterer of Notre Dame*. But whilst nothing was talked of at Paris but victories, Louis XIV. who had formerly conquered

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the half of Holland and Flanders, together with all Franche-Compté, without fighting a single battle, now, after so many grand efforts, and bloody victories, could not penetrate into the United Provinces, nor lay siege to Brussels *.

The king returned to England the latter end of October, escorted by a small squadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral Mitchel. One of the first measures which he took after his arrival, was to reinstate admiral Russel in the command of the fleet, and dismiss the earl of Nottingham from his post. On the 7th day of November the parliament met; the king, in his speech, expressed his resentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land-forces and the navy, and demanded a suitable supply for that purpose. Soon after the meeting of parliament, the house of commons entered upon an enquiry into the miscarriages at sea, and to consider of means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey Company was summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the admiralty for convoy; while lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits fleet; together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It came out, in the course of this enquiry, that the misfortune which had befallen the Smyrna fleet, was, in a great measure, owing to the misconduct of the three admirals who commanded in chief, and to the neglect of the victualling-office. It was strongly urged, to pass a vote of censure on the admirals commanding in chief; but after much debate it was overruled, and the atten-

* Voltaire.

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tion of the house was drawn to other matters. It appeared, that the sum of one million thirty-six thousand four hundred and fifteen pounds, was due for seamen's wages. The house thereupon passed a vote of credit for five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging these arrears, and granted two millions for the service of the navy in 1694. Lord Falkland was likewise found to have obtained, by indirect means, four thousand pounds, for which offence he was declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and breach of trust, and committed prisoner to the Tower; from whence he was soon after discharged upon his petition.

This year is memorable for the first establishment of the present corporation of the Bank of England. Many proposals and schemes had been offered to the public for the institution of a national Bank. The only considerable Banks in Europe then subsisting were, those of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Ham-burgh. The ends proposed in forming this company were, the accommodation of the commercial part of the nation, and rendering assistance to government. William Paterson, a merchant, formed the plan of this Bank, which was brought to effect by Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The disaffected party opposed this establishment, alledging, it would engross the money, stock, and riches of the kingdom. After very warm debates an act was passed this session, for granting several rates and duties on tonnage of ships, and on beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompences, &c. to such persons as should voluntarily advance one million five hundred thousand pounds: it was thereby enacted, that their majesties might grant a commission to take particular subscriptions for one million two hundred thousand pounds, part of the said one million five hundred thousand pounds, (the

(the ministry being unwilling to trust the whole to this new scheme,) of any persons, natives or foreigners, whom their majesties were thereby impowered to incorporate, with a yearly allowance of one hundred thousand pounds, viz. ninety-six thousand pounds for interest at eight per cent. until redeemed, and four thousand pounds to be allowed the intended Bank for charges of management. The corporation to have the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. This fund to be redeemable upon a year's notice, after the 1st of August 1705, and payment of the principal, and then the corporation to cease. The company were enabled to purchase lands; their stock was to be transferrable: they were restrained from owing, at any one time, more than one million two hundred thousand pounds, unless empowered by future acts of parliament. The dealings of this company were confined to bills of exchange, buying and selling of bullion, gold or silver; or the sale of any merchandize which might be pledged to them for money lent thereon, and which remained unredeemed at the time agreed upon, or within three months after. The corporation was restrained from lending any money to government, by way of loan or anticipation, on any branch of the revenue, unless warranted so to do by parliament. This clause was probably inserted to guard against the evil which arose from Charles the Second having shut up the exchequer, wherein the banker's money was deposited, and which they had, from time to time, advanced to him by way of anticipation of his revenues. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened, and the court of directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time prescribed the act, although they did not call in more than seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. Before

Before the parliament rose, the king, among many other appointments, advanced Ruffel to the head of the admiralty-board, in the room of Falkland, and superseded Killegrew and Delaval, placing Sir George Rooke and Sir John Houblon as joint-commissioners in their room.

Whilst these things were transacting at home, the nation sustained another misfortune at sea. Sir Francis Wheeler had been appointed commander in chief in the Mediterranean, and had proceeded there for the protection of the trade, as well as of the Spanish ports, with a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with the Dutch vice-admiral Callemberg, and his squadron. On the 17th day of February, being in the bay of Gibraltar, he was overtaken by a violent storm, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather; the ground was likewise so foul, that no anchor would hold. A great number of ships were driven in ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew, amounting to five hundred and fifty, perished; two Moors alone escaped. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant-ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons which were still at sea, under the command of Chatteau-Renaut and Gabaret.

The king had bestowed great attention during the winter, in projecting the operations of the fleet in the ensuing summer. His councils however were betrayed, even by those in whom he most confided. The destination of the different squadrons was communicated to the French court as soon as it was formed in the cabinet; nothing but the time of their

their departure, which depended upon accidents, remained a secret. The combined fleets were not assembled until the end of April. Russel hoisted his flag at Portsmouth, on the twenty-seventh day of that month, and his avowed design was to sail into the Mediterranean, to defend the ports of Spain from the French, who had determined upon making the principal effort of the campaign on that side.

But the chief enterprize of the season was designed against Brest. The lord Godolphin, although at the head of the treasury, had informed James some time before, of this important secret. But from the uncertainty which attended the sailing of the fleet, he could not fix the time. General Tollemache, contrary to the express opinion of Russel, occasioned this scheme to be adopted. When the admiral hoisted his flag at St. Helens, the land-forces, destined for the expedition, were on their march, under Tollemache, to Portsmouth. The French, who had sent an army into Catalonia, commanded by the marshal de Noailles, openly declared their resolution of assisting, with their whole fleet, the designs of that general against Barcelona. The court of Spain, anxious to preserve a place of such importance, had prevailed on the king of England to send the main body of the combined fleet to protect the place. It was therefore generally believed, that the land-forces under Tollemache were destined for that service. The alarm concerning Brest, which had been raised by the intelligence sent by Godolphin to James, had already subsided; and the cause of apprehension was greatly removed, by the sailing of the French fleet from that port on the 15th day of April.

It is now at length brought to light, that the earl of Marlborough transmitted to the abdicated king,
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by means of colonel Sackville, on account of the real destination of this armament, the day before Ruffel sailed with the combined fleets *.

On the 3d day of May admiral Ruffel sailed from St. Helens with the combined fleets, consisting of fifty-two English, and forty-one Dutch ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. Having received advice of a fleet of French merchant-ships, which lay near Conquet-bay, he detached captain Pritchard, in the Monmouth, with two fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Out of fifty-five sail of vessels, thirty-five were either burnt or sunk; these were coasters, whose general lading was salt, wine, and brandy. The admiral then returned to St. Helens, where he had left Sir Cloudefley Shovel, with a part of the fleet, to take on board the land-forces destined for a descent on France. Finding every thing ready, he sailed again with the whole fleet on the 29th day of May. A council of war being held on board the Britannia, soon after they got out to sea, it was resolved that the fleet designed against Brest, which was commanded by lord Berkley, should immediately proceed thither. Accordingly, that squadron having parted with the grand fleet, anchored on the 7th day of June between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. The next day nine hundred men were landed in a disorderly manner, under the fire of some men of war. They found the bay lined with intrenchments which were filled with French marines. The English having for some time bravely sustained the fire of the enemy, were at length forced to retreat. To add to the misfortune, it was now ebbing tide,

* Macpherson's History of England, vol. II. p. 69. who takes these facts from king James's MS. Memoirs preserved in the Scotch College at Paris.

and several boats were left dry on the sand. Confusion and slaughter prevailed. Six hundred soldiers were slain, many were drowned, besides those who were killed on board of the ships. Tolle-mache himself received a wound in his thigh, of which he afterwards died at Plymouth. The ships which covered the landing were greatly shattered by the batteries which flanked the shore. One Dutch frigate was sunk, after losing her whole crew, except an ensign, a drummer, and a private man. The French had profited so much by the intelligence given them by Marlborough, that the English found it expedient to return home, without making any farther attempts.

The queen sent orders to the admiral to call a council of war, and to deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. It was there resolved to make an attempt upon the coast of Normandy, and the town of Dieppe was singled out as the object of their vengeance. They set sail on the 5th day of July, but meeting with foul weather, it was not till the 12th that they began to play upon the town, when they bombarded it with such fury, that the greatest part of the place was reduced to ashes. They then proceeded to Havre-de-Grace, one third of which they demolished, together with great part of the walls, and destroyed numbers of the troops that had been poured in to defend the place, as well as of inhabitants. But these furious assaults had so shattered the vessels, that the admiral found it necessary to desist; but to keep up the alarm which these attacks had spread along the coast, the fleet appeared off La Hogue, which greatly harrassed the French troops, by drawing them hastily down to that extremity of Normandy. Although the fleet by this time was incapable of attempting any thing,

thing, yet it alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that the inhabitants would have abandoned their dwellings, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

Lord Berkley returned from this successful expedition on the 26th day of July. The command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who received positive instructions to undertake something against Dunkirk. He therefore sailed into the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, who was the inventor of those machines called *infernals*, and who directed their operations. This engineer brought with him several Dutch pilots, who were acquainted with the harbour of Dunkirk, and could assist the ships in the attack. On the 12th day of September, the fleet appeared before Dunkirk; captain Benbow was appointed to conduct the enterprise, under the directions of the engineer. The next day the Charles galley was sent in, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called *infernals*. These latter were set on fire without effect, and the design miscarried. The admiral then directed his course towards Calais, and in his way reduced to ashes the ancient town of Graveling*. On the 17th he appeared before Calais, threw a great number of shells into the town, by which about forty houses were consumed, but the wind blowing hard, accompanied with a great swell of the sea, he was obliged to bear away for the Downs, from whence he sent the bomb-ketches and machines into the river Thames.

During this campaign, the French stood on the defensive in Flanders, and having formed an impenetrable line from the Lys to the ocean, pre-

* Buschin's Geography.

vented William from attacking by land, those maritime places which his fleet had insulted by sea. He, however, besieged and took the town and castle of Hui, with which success he closed the campaign.

While the war languished in Flanders, the French pushed their operations with vigour on the side of Spain. In Catalonia, marshal de Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, defeated the Spanish army intrenched on the farther shore *. He took Palamos by assault †; Geronne and Ostalic fell successively into his hands. His designs upon Barcelona were defeated by the arrival of Ruffel, with the combined fleet in the neighbouring seas: at his approach Tourville retiring to Toulon. The English, by being masters at sea, gave a new turn to the siege, and Noailles presently abandoned his enterprize. While the combined fleet continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. Ruffel, after having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order from the king, he wintered. During his stay in this harbour, he took such effectual measures for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to attempt it.

The French had at this time no other colony in India but Pondicherry, which Colbert had established at an immense expence; but no advantage could be reaped from it for several years. The Dutch this year easily took it, and thus ruined the commerce of France in India, when in its infancy ‡.

* May 27, 1694.
Vol. I. p. 245.

† June 7.

‡ Voltaire's age of Louis XIV.

In the month of December, queen Mary was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She expired at Kensington on the 28th day of December, in the thirty-third year of her, and the sixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented both at home and abroad. The king, in whose breast the tender passions were not predominant, yet loved her with a strong and manly affection. He mourned her loss with an unfeigned sorrow, and as his affection was founded more on esteem than passion, his grief upon her death was the more rooted and indelible. For some weeks he abandoned himself entirely to his emotions, neither admitting any company, nor attending to any business of state. Mary, in her person, was tall and graceful; with an oval face, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her judgment solid, and her memory tenacious. She was a zealous protestant; distinguished by her undissembled piety, her extensive charity, the evenness of her temper, and the mildness of her conversation. Her conjugal affection seems to have been the ruling principles of her life.

Those who thought that a king may be justified in being a tyrant, but that his people cannot be justified in resisting his tyranny, execrated with great bitterness the memory of this princess, for accepting the vacant throne of England upon her father's abdication, and reigning over these kingdoms to the exclusion of her parent. But if ever the consideration of public good may be allowed to outweigh the ties of blood, and to supersede, in such instances only in which they clash, the duties resulting from consanguinity, the conduct of queen Mary, may be considered not only as excusable, but as meritorious.

Naturally

Naturally unambitious, her patriotism ought not to be doubted: it was not the attraction of royalty that drew Mary to oppose her father; but the full conviction that that father had broken the solemn engagements which he had entered into with his people, and was strenuously labouring to introduce the most fatal innovations in religion, and the civil government. So circumstanced, it required no dispensation of the church to absolve her from her filial obligations; her country demanded the sacrifice, and the greater duty suspended the less. Civil and religious liberty were hereby secured to a people, who were in the most imminent danger of being deprived of both forever: all the horrors and devastations of civil war were hereby prevented, and a foundation laid for the happiness, prosperity, and grandeur of Great-Britain, instead of its becoming an insignificant appendage to the crown of France.

The princess of Denmark was no sooner informed of the queen's dangerous illness, than she sent a lady of her bedchamber, requesting that she might see her. This was declined, but her sister thanked her for the concern she had expressed, and informed her, that the refusal proceeded from the directions which the physicians had given, who had ordered the queen to be kept as quiet as possible. At the same time she declared, that she died in perfect amity with her sister. The city of London, the two houses of parliament, the nation in general, expressed, in warm addresses to the throne, their sense of the queen's merit, and their own sorrow. The princess Ann was prevailed on by the earl of Sunderland, to write a letter of condolence to the king, on the death of his consort. This princess, even before her disgrace, in the year 1692, had begun a secret correspondence with her father; but
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having now obtained a nearer prospect of the crown, she was easily induced to adopt an appearance of reconciliation with William. Not long after she visited the king at Kensington, where she was received with every mark of kindness. He appointed the palace of St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the most valuable of the late queen's jewels.

James made no efforts to recover his kingdom in consequence of this event. He conceived hopes, that a government which he thought depended upon the popularity of his daughter, would shake, and unhinge itself by her decease. He was much affected by the intelligence; but his sorrow was more that of an enthusiast than of a father: he was rather grieved at her manner of dying, than at her death. The following are the reflections which he wrote into his Memoirs on this occasion: "The king received this additional affliction to those which he had already undergone. He saw a child whom he tenderly loved, persevering to her death, in a signal state of disobedience and disloyalty: he perceived that she was extolled for a crime as for the highest merit: he heard her contradictions called virtues; and her breach of duty to a parent, a becoming sacrifice to her religion and her country *."

* Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 76, from James's Memoirs.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.



